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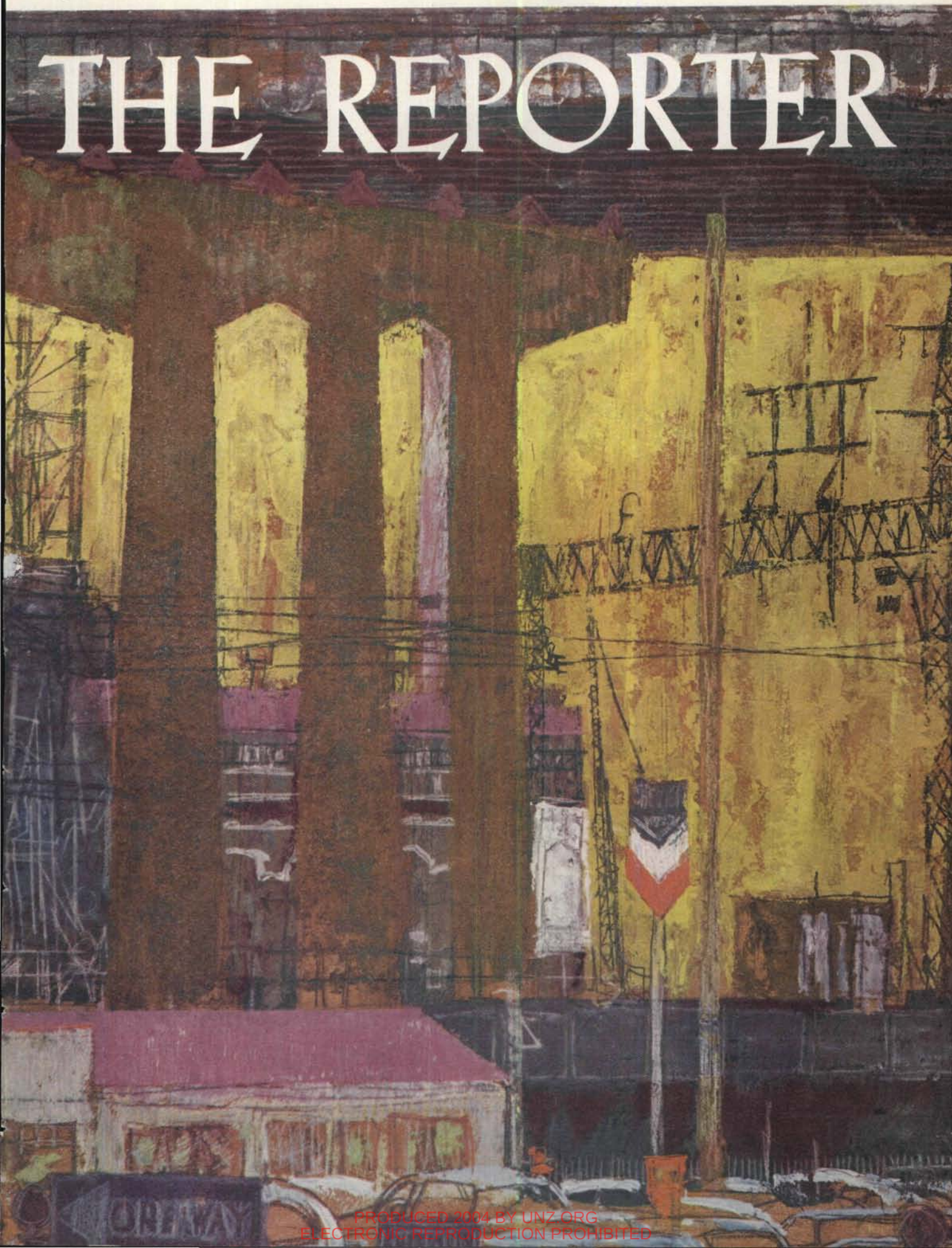
September 12, 1963 35¢

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF TONY PRO

THE REPORTER



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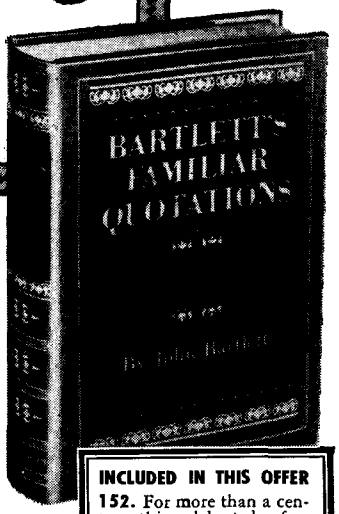

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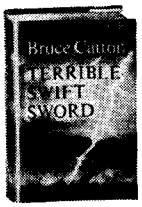

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THE POSITION of this magazine on the evils of nuclear testing could not be more emphatic. As long ago as May 16, 1957, an editorial entitled "There Must Be an End to It" stated that ". . . all nuclear-weapons tests, no matter how tiny the weapon, are acts of hostility against mankind." **Max Ascoli** stresses in his editorial the conviction that even this "limited test ban" is better than none, but this does not remove the necessity of looking very closely at the limitations and the dangers of this hastily negotiated treaty.

A tendency to embellish the facts is surely no novelty in the U.S. Senate, and **Meg Greenfield** points out that during the recent hearings the rhetoric of both those who oppose and those who favor the test ban left the subject under consideration all but unrecognizable. . . . To the Russians and to some in the West, the test-ban agreement is seen as a prelude to a nonaggression pact. Once again, the universal craving for peace should not prevent us from examining the Soviet proposal carefully and skeptically. Some of the more important considerations are analyzed by **Ernest A. Gross,** a New York attorney well versed in international law who has served as Assistant Secretary of State and as a deputy delegate representing this country at the United Nations. . . . The French and the Chinese Communists, as everyone expected, have refused to sign the test-ban agreement. There are some who don't particularly mind putting General de Gaulle in the same category with Mao Tse-tung, but this is a senseless notion, unfair to France and unfair to the alliance, which certainly is not strengthened by isolating France. **Nils Orvik,** a Norwegian expert on military and diplomatic affairs who is an associate professor of political science at the University of Oslo, suggests that the French might not have to conduct tests if they were given the benefit of the experience we have already acquired.

THE INTRIGUES and power plays of President Ngo Dinh Diem's ubiquitous family in Vietnam have caused it to be compared to the Borgias. **Denis Warner,** an Australian journalist whose reports from Southeast Asia have often appeared in these pages, has followed the present crisis at first hand and made Diem the central figure of his book *The Last Confucian,* to be published this month by Macmillan. . . . From New Orleans, "The Land of Dreams," **Ed Planer** of that city's Station WDSU-TV describes the latest fantasy of some Deep South politicos, who dream of becoming the deciding force in the 1964 elections. . . . **Robert S. Gallagher** and **Ronald Semple,** both Jersey City newspapermen, were not surprised at anything they learned about Anthony Provenzano after watching the Teamster boss douse a wastebasket fire with a scotch and soda during one of their interviews. . . . The African student today is offered a wide choice of scholarships abroad as the competition for influence in the new nations intensifies. But **David Hapgood,** who has just spent two years in Africa as a Fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs, questions the ultimate effect of this rivalry on the Africa of tomorrow. . . . The nearly $1 billion in German reparations payments to Israel, now being completed, have, as free-lance writer **William Mehlman** relates, succeeded in changing the face of the country.

EVERYONE KNOWS that to be an actor means hard work, whether on or off-Broadway or in the films, but **William K. Zinsser,** who followed Danny Kaye through an awful day in his life shows that sometimes the most exhausting task an actor has to face has nothing much to do with acting. After thirteen years on the New York *Herald Tribune,* Mr. Zinsser turned to free-lance writing in 1959. He is the author of *The City Dwellers* and *Week End Guest,* both published by Harper & Row. . . . **Nat Hentoff** provides another of his reviews of jazz records. . . . **Arthur F. Burns** is one of the outstanding authorities on the problems A. A. Berle deals with in his latest book. Mr. Burns is president of the National Bureau of Economic Research and is a professor at Columbia University; in the first Eisenhower administration he was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. . . . **M. L. Rosenthal,** who reviews the work of four contemporary poets, teaches poetry at New York University. His latest book is *The Modern Poets: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford University Press). . . . **Hilton Kramer** is a free-lance critic of the New York art scene.

Our cover is by **John R. McDermott.**

•

Although the name of **Marya Mannes** no longer appears on our masthead, we have every reason to hope that it will continue to appear from time to time on our table of contents.

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INTELLIGENCE

To the Editor: I read with great interest the article by Hanson W. Baldwin on "The Growing Risks of Bureaucratic Intelligence" (*The Reporter*, August 15). Mr. Baldwin is perhaps the most knowledgeable of all our military reporters and his words carry great weight.

I have felt from the start that the distinction between offensive and defensive weapons in Cuba was unrealistic and even dangerous. This distinction undoubtedly encouraged the Soviets to believe that we would let them do anything they wanted to. Our Kremlinologists guessed wrong and, as Mr. Baldwin points out, the intelligence data were tailored to fit their theories.

I was especially interested in Mr. Baldwin's statement that irrefutable evidence of ballistic missile base construction became available commencing about September 21-22. Information to the same effect from government sources did not reach me until the first week of October and was apparently not fully recorded by aerial photography until October 14. Mr. Baldwin's statement, therefore, emphasizes the importance of intelligence sources other than aerial photographs. After all, none of our U-2s can penetrate the caves of Cuba, where most of Soviet weapon activity is taking place today. Unless we can get the facts—and evaluate them properly—without relying exclusively on aerial photography, we may find ourselves in even greater danger in the future than we were last fall.

KENNETH B. KEATING
U.S. Senate

THE DRUG CULT

To the Editor: Noah Gordon's "The Hallucinogenic Drug Cult" (*The Reporter*, August 15) describes an explosive and timely public-health problem in an authorative and illuminating fashion.

The hallucinogenic drugs, such as LSD, mescaline, and a host of other agents, have been used in psychiatry mainly to study mental illness. These categories of drugs produce a transient psychosis that can be only studied by qualified research men. There exists highly uncontrolled and questionable evidence that these drugs may be used as an adjunct to psychotherapy. Our present knowledge shows that these are highly unpredictable drugs that may have serious behavioral consequences, some of which are irreversible.

THEODORE ROTHMAN, M.D.
Clinical Professor of Psychiatry
University of Southern California
School of Medicine
Los Angeles

To the Editor: "The Hallucinogenic Drug Cult" provides your readers with a sensationalized introduction to the wonders and mysteries of expanded consciousness. The author admits that he is disturbed and alarmed by important potentialities which he does not understand. Was it really necessary to fall back on such shock-scare techniques, lurid innuendoes, salacious gossip, the breathless, pious exposé style?

The article does contain a conscientious summary of the research on religious implications and deserves thoughtful rereading. Exactly what happened with those divinity students and hardened convicts who experienced spiritual revelations?

We are grateful that the issue of internal freedom and consciousness-expanding drugs is reaching a wider audience and that more Americans are being alerted to the awesome potentialities of their own brains.

Many of your readers will wonder why over seven hundred respectable and respected scientists, scholars, and religious leaders have joined IFIF and risked their material security to explore new dimensions of consciousness.

TIMOTHY LEARY, Ph.D., President
International Federation
for Internal Freedom
Cambridge, Massachusetts

To the Editor: An excellent report. Painstakingly accurate and fair, I feel. No errors of any consequence so far as I know. Noah Gordon should be congratulated for a job well done.

DR. ROBERT BALES
Laboratory of Social Relations
Harvard University

To the Editor: "The Hallucinogenic Drug Cult" offered a broad and interesting evaluation of the problems arising from the emergence of these drugs. However, on certain issues satisfactory communication was apparently not achieved between Mr. Gordon and myself.

The statement attributed to me that "There is strong feeling against a psychologist utilizing drugs" must have been the result of some misunderstanding. It is true that there has been *considerable discussion* about psychologists using these drugs. In my conversation with Mr. Gordon I also introduced the question of medical collaboration. It is generally expected that psychologists making use of any restricted drugs for research or treatment with humans will do so in collaboration with a doctor of medicine. Psychologists and other researchers also engage in drug research with laboratory animals and, as Mr. Gordon points out, "responsible scientists must not be deprived of their freedom to investigate. . . ." Psychology is engaged in a careful evaluation of drug use by researchers and practition-

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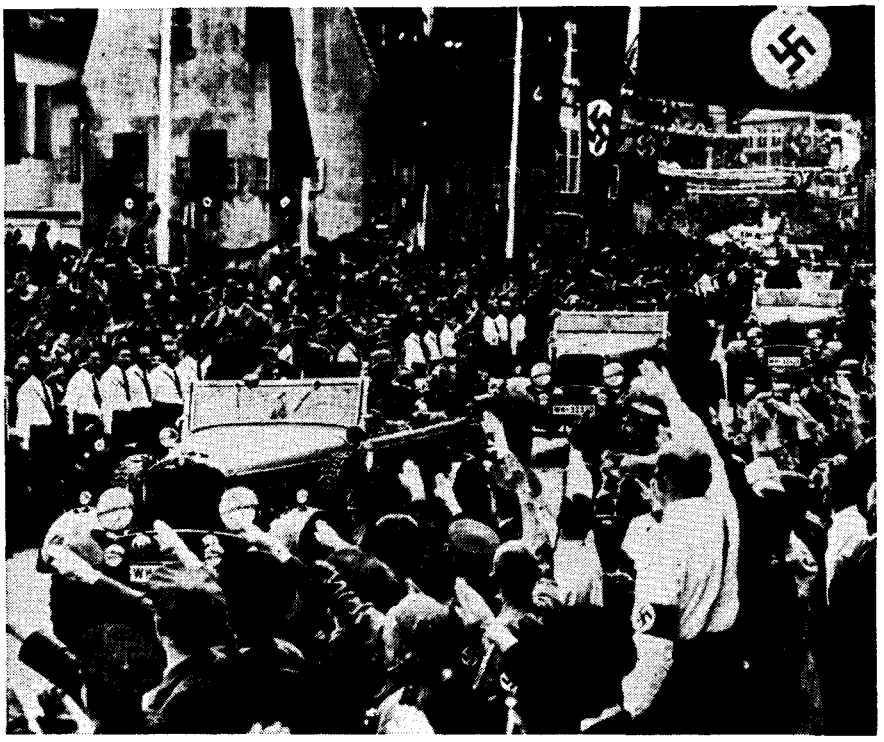

October 1938: Wildly cheering throngs line the streets as Hitler enters the Sudetenland, the Czechoslovak districts ceded to Germany by the infamous Munich agreement. (UPI Photo)

The passions that drive men to make history

In Czechoslovakia, chaos reigned. Violence had erupted between the Bohemian majority and the German-speaking minority. Across the border in Germany, Hitler openly threatened military action. Russia, England and France were pledged to defend Czechoslovakia against attack. If Germany marched, global war might be imminent. . . .

Then, in an effort to keep "peace in our time" England and France about-faced and agreed to Hitler's occupation of the Czechoslovakian Sudetenland. Cries of shame and protest rang out around the world. Overnight, the word "appeasement" became a vile accusation. And in less than a year the passions that the "appeasers" had tried to quell erupted again—this time in the cataclysm of World War Two.

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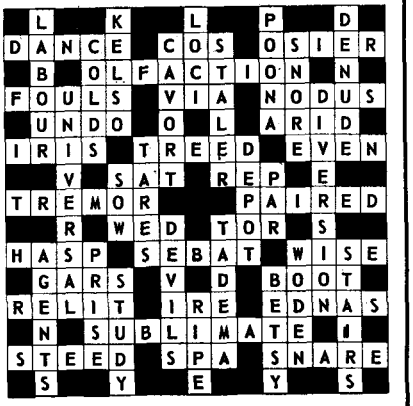

Acrostician—

FRED ASTAIRE

ers as well as methods for their control with the greatest benefit to man. It would be unfortunate if our position were to be prejudged.

I would also like to bring attention to a possible ambiguity in the following paragraph, where it might be inferred that improper use of drugs has caused psychologists to be removed from membership in the Association. I have explored the record and there is no evidence of a psychologist ever having been deprived of APA membership for this reason. Indeed, improper use of drugs for research or treatment has never to my knowledge been a problem among psychologists.

Finally, in another understandable breakdown in communication, Mr. Gordon attributed to me the prediction that "within the next two years, nearly all states will have certification." I wish this were true. However, my statement more conservatively described "the next *few* years."

I regret to have to call these matters to your attention. I have a great deal of respect and regard for *The Reporter* and in general I found the article informative and a contribution to the solution of this problem.

JOSEPH B. MARGOLIN, Ph.D.
Administrative Officer
American Psychological Association, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor: I believe that Noah Gordon has done a very fine job of reporting, comprehensively covering the entire problem—its social, medical, and sociological implications, as well as the mechanisms by which our society attempts to regulate the use of harmful drugs. My congratulations!

GEORGE A. MICHAEL, Sc.D., Director
Division of Food and Drugs
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Boston

To the Editor: This is a very interesting, careful, and, so far as I know, accurate analysis of the case. I think *The Reporter* should be commended for publishing such an article, and certainly the author should receive praise for the sensible way in which he handled a very controversial issue.

MILTON GREENBLATT, M.D.
Superintendent
Boston State Hospital

To the Editor: As Noah Gordon's article correctly stated, I refused to discuss my experiment with him. My study comparing mystical experience as known from many different cultures with hallucinogenic drug experience was a carefully conceived, cautiously executed piece of scientific and scholarly work exclusively designed to serve research in the psychology of religion. When the procedure and results of my experiment are published at the proper time and in the proper form, I hope that my work may be judged on its

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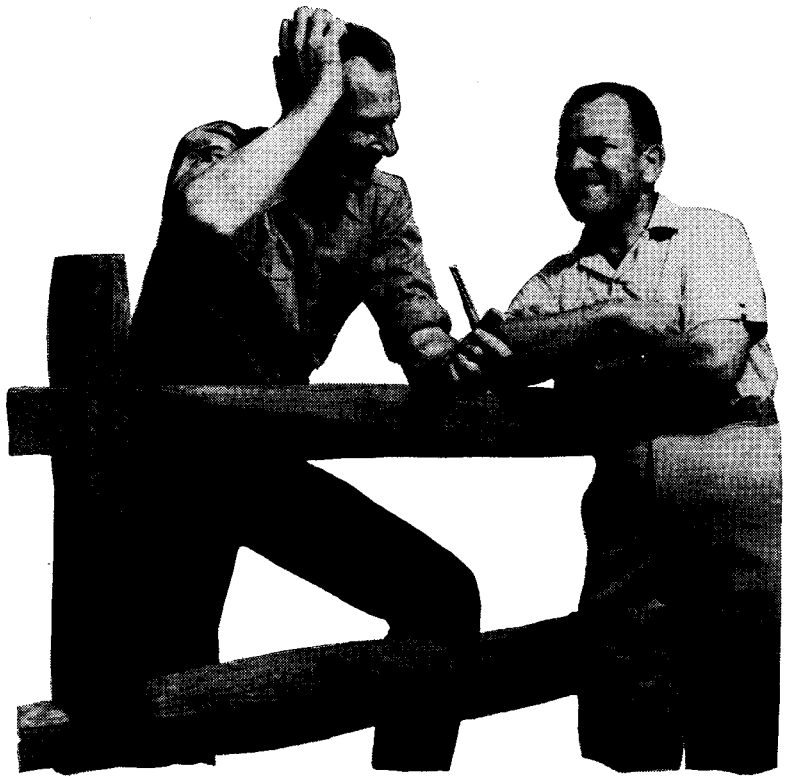
CLEAR GROUND RULES HELP GOOD NEIGHBORS STAY THAT WAY



For many years the investor-owned light and power companies and the rural electric cooperatives have been, on the whole, good neighbors. They have worked together to bring electricity to rural America. About two-thirds of this electricity is produced by investor-owned companies who either supply rural customers directly, or supply the co-ops.

The REA

The two systems are, of course, different. One, as its name implies, is financed by investors. The other is financed by loans from an agency of the Federal Government, The Rural Electrification Administration (REA). REA loans are made at the low interest rate of 2%. Co-ops financed by The REA pay no Federal income taxes. The rural electric program was started during the Depression, in 1936, to help get electricity to farms more quickly.

But notwithstanding the fact that electricity now flows throughout our farmlands, requests for treasury appropriations to The REA continue to get bigger and bigger. In 1952, appropriations amounted to $175 million. The last budget called for $425 million for loan authorizations, with the greater part requested for building generating plants and high-voltage lines.

This leads to a big question: does the nature and continued expansion of this program indicate, over and beyond necessary co-op improvements, a significant move toward federalizing the nation's power by making use of the farm economy?

That is the general issue. And against it, writers, editors, legislators, farm leaders and others are asking some pointed questions.

The Questions

Some ask if The REA in Washington is encouraging co-ops to build power plants that are not needed. Others ask if these loans are being made to some co-ops to develop a Federal power system not authorized by Congress. People both in and out of Congress are asking whether it is proper for a Federal Government bureau to loan your money under such circumstances.

Also: are REA loans being used to finance expanded service to urban or industrial customers in contradiction to the original purpose of the rural co-op? Are they being used unnecessarily to finance equipment for business and industrial ventures locating on REA-financed co-op lines? Is it proper for The REA in Washington to lend public funds while keeping the economic basis for making the loans a secret?

Ground Rules Helpful

We in the electric light and power business are interested in these questions, too. We have good reasons for wanting them answered. We've worked with rural electric co-ops for many years, and we think that clearly understood ground rules would help both the co-ops and ourselves. We believe that such "clear ground rules" will help us to continue to work with our good neighbors to go on meeting the nation's power needs, wherever the power is needed.

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validity as scientific research, not confused with an appraisal of IFIF, an organization to which I have never belonged.

I do not feel that your presentation of the material indicated adequately the nature of the psychedelic or mind-manifesting experience which can occur with the safeguards of competent supervision and preparation.

WALTER N. PAHNKE, M.D.
Cambridge, Massachusetts

DESEGREGATION

To the Editor: "The Dull Part of Desegregation," by Julius Duscha (*The Reporter*, August 15), is an interesting article. As it recognizes, vocational education and training are without doubt the basic areas in which change in discriminatory practices will have their nascence.

I have had an opportunity, perhaps unique during this session, of being a member of the Committee on Commerce and ranking Republican on the Education and Manpower and Employment Subcommittees of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the Senate. Each of the bills involving unemployment, youth training, education, fair employment practices, and public accommodations this session is before one of these.

One would indeed wish the President and his civil-rights advisors might have engendered the same interest in the unemployment and civil-rights aspects of vocational education and job training that they have in public accommodations. While it is true that the President's civil-rights message mentions each of these matters, the real test of the administration's interest lies in the substance and form which its proposals have taken in bills, and in the relative emphasis placed on them in hearings and departmental comment.

Mr. Duscha mentions the yeoman service of Representative Charles E. Goodell (R., New York), my opposite number in the House of Representatives. He did indeed make an effort to have a "civil-rights" amendment added to the vocational training bill. Unfortunately, the administration not only did not endorse such an amendment, it rather lobbied strongly against it, just as it has done to such amendments in many other bills this session.

This "anti-anti-discrimination amendments" attitude of the administration was often repeated by the Attorney General and others with a rejection of such amendments because "We are doing very well, making very good progress in this area." This, of course, was prior to the civil-rights message, which apparently indicates that very little progress was actually made. One wonders just who is "anti" in these matters. Not, necessarily, "Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats."

WINSTON L. PROUTY
U.S. Senate

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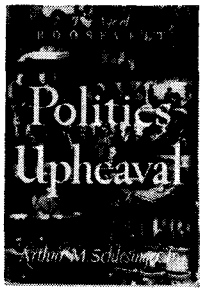

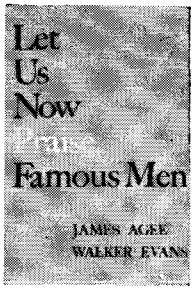

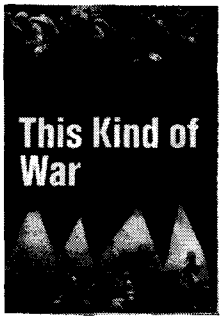

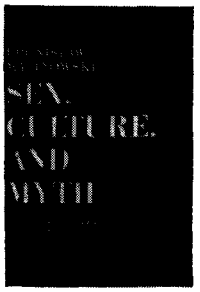

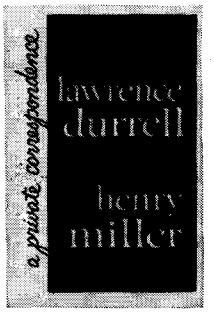

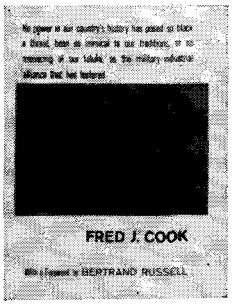

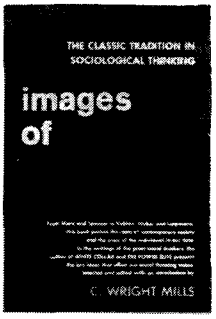

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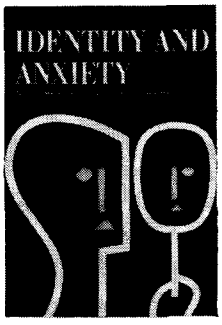

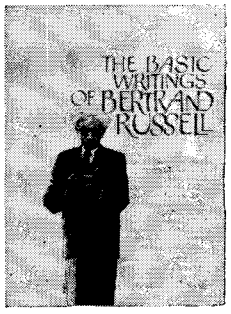

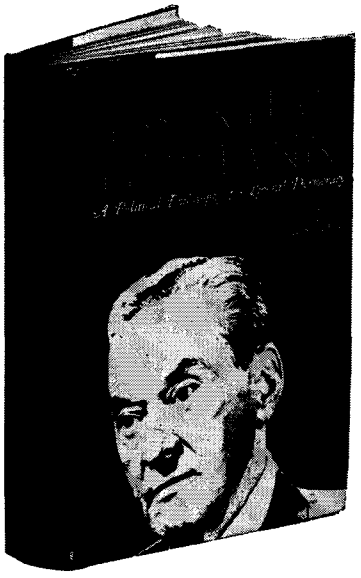

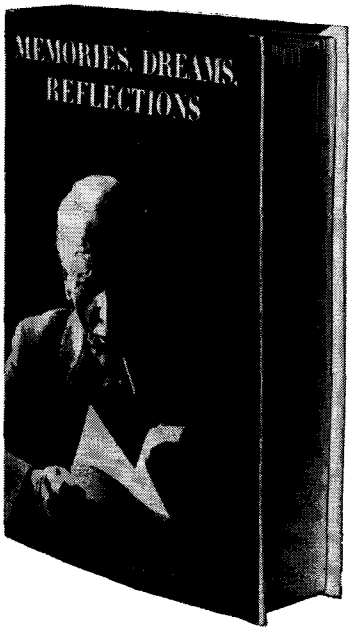

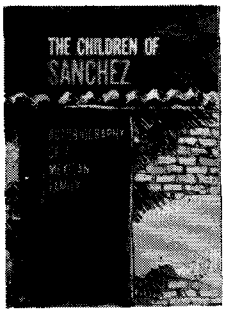

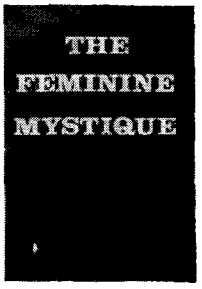

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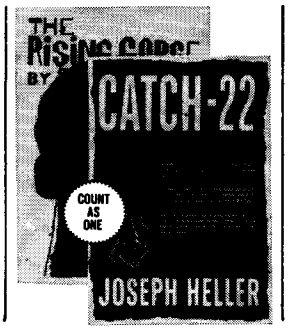

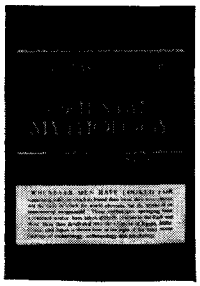
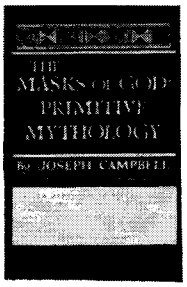

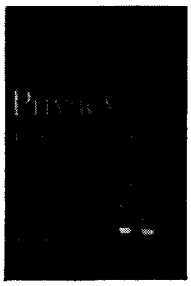

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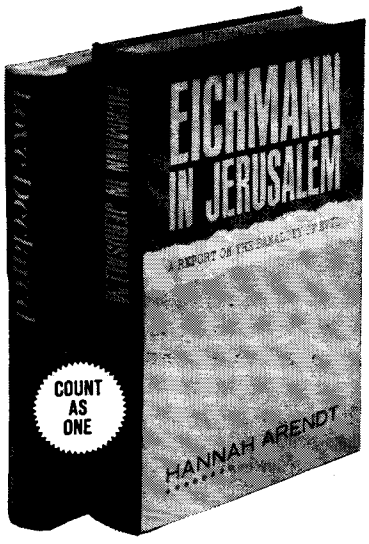

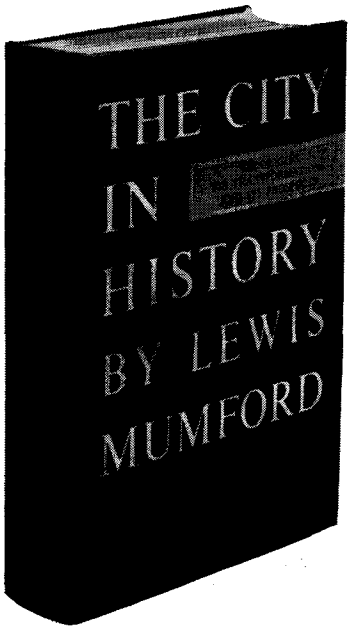

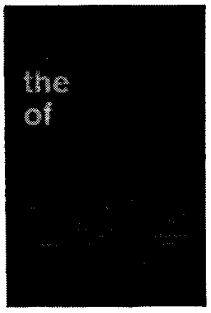

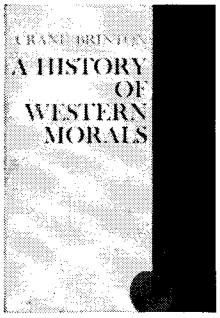

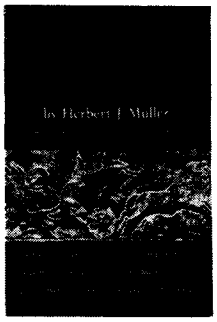

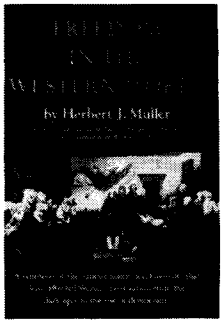

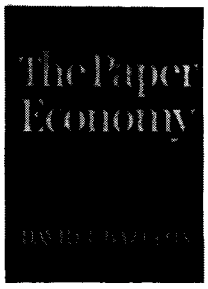

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

After the March

The distance between the Lincoln Memorial and the U.S. Capitol is 11,470 feet. But communication between these points, according to the Senate Assistant Majority Leader, Hubert H. Humphrey, after the recent march on Washington that terminated before the memorial, should be reckoned not by straight-line telegraphy but rather by a radar-like bouncing of signals across the vast stretches of the nation. According to Humphrey's exuberant estimate, the sounds of more than two hundred thousand demonstrators for jobs and freedom will be echoing in Congress for weeks to come as that body struggles with the President's civil-rights package.

He may well be right. The civil-rights march was a restrained and compelling demand for a redress of grievances. The fact that many of these grievances may lie beyond the immediate capacity of Congress or the government as a whole to provide redress does not diminish the eloquence with which they were presented. Anyone who walked through the midst of the frighteningly tight-packed assemblage could not fail to be deeply moved by what was happening. As the afternoon wore on, there came an awareness shared by speakers and listeners alike that the event had achieved historic meaning. A large amount of credit goes to the organizers, who curbed the temptation to flaunt their forces before Congress. By nightfall the exodus was well along, moving as silently and efficiently as the arrival. Next morning, few visible signs of the march remained.

Will anyone in Congress be moved? If not exactly moved, a good many were visibly shaken, including a large group of Southerners who were observed in the House cloakroom clustered around a tiny Japanese television set silently watching the proceeding. It is unlikely, however, that votes were changed in substantial number. What is more likely is that the awesome spectacle and the wider public reaction will stiffen the resolve of those already committed to the civil-rights measures but not sufficiently so as to make much of a fight for them.

Especially in the Senate, this stiffening could be crucially important. For the filibuster demands a great deal more staying power of those who are resisting it than of the filibusterers themselves. The disciplined platoon system developed by Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia permits the Southerners to stagger their appearances in the Senate so that they can remain well rested. Those who support the legislation, on the other hand, must be prepared to turn out at any hour of day or night to muster a quorum and prevent abortive adjournment.

By all reports, this period of testing in Congress still lies a good many weeks off. We can only hope that when it comes Congress will exhibit the same determination and self-restraint that made the march itself so memorable.

Aid for AID

"Foreign aid has no constituency" was one of the reasons offered the other day by AID Administrator David Bell to explain his agency's ordeal in Congress, which threatens to be unusually severe this year. The House Foreign Affairs Committee cut $438 million from the President's totals even though Mr. Kennedy had already cut his own request by $420 million. Then the full House, in a vote that caught administration aides by surprise, sliced off another $585 million. All this, it should be pointed out, is only at the authorizing stage. Past practice has consigned to the appropriating committees the really brutal treatment of the AID program. The word around Capitol Hill is that House

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A Gift of Time

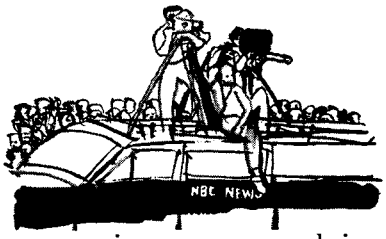
There are more than a few dumb-bunnies around who think that doubling the length of a nightly television newscast is a matter of simple multiplication. (This is known as the rabbit complex). Happily for all, there are no such harebrains connected with NBC-TV's new "Huntley-Brinkley Report," which becomes a half-hour program on Monday evening, September 9.

Broader and Deeper

The show's personnel can hardly wait for opening night, but all are quite aware that the obligation to use the added air-time wisely is an imposing one. Just as imposing, of course, is the track record of the new program's executive producer, Reuven Frank.

Frank's myriad producing credits for NBC-TV News include such items as "The Tunnel;" coverage of the 1956 and 1960 national conventions; and six seasons of the 15-minute-nightly "Huntley-Brinkley Report" (by far the most successful of all such programs on network television).

The doubled air-time will permit a broader, deeper treatment of the news than ever before. Now, in addition to reporting the day's top happenings, the program can analyze the background and significance of those happenings. On most evenings Frank expects to show two specially-prepared films (with a total running time of no more than 12 minutes). "These," he cautions, "won't be 'features.' That's a word that implies nostalgic trifles, twins' conventions and contrived humor. We will be a *news* program for 30 minutes."



Helping Frank in this aim will be a crew of 45, with five fully-staffed field production units based in Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, London and Tokyo. These, in turn, are backed up by 800 NBC News people all over the world.

Chief correspondents on the forthcoming "Huntley-Brinkley Report"—and, remember, you heard it here—will be a couple of fellows named Chet Huntley and David Brinkley. On the expanded program, their celebrated "good-nights" will take no longer to say than usual, but before that point each evening, David and Chet will have had the "extra" time they've so long coveted.

Both men are highly respected journalists. Chet's studious view of world affairs is complemented neatly by the frequently wry approach of Brinkley, who once suggested that the fuss over changing the name of Boulder Dam to Hoover Dam could be quickly settled "if Herbert Hoover would only change his name to Herbert Boulder."

Our Home Planet

Expansion of the "Huntley-Brinkley Report" is but another development in NBC-TV's continued leadership in the news and informational sphere. Over the past five years, we've stepped up this type of programming by more than 70 per cent. On a planet as newsworthy as this one, it seems to us no other course has been possible. As for the few who would protest that "the world is too much with us," we respectfully offer this reminder: it's the only world in town.

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Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Otto E. Passman, who displays persistent hostility toward AID, is determined to get the final figures this year below $3 billion. It could be the biggest setback in the program's history.

Bell, working hard to protect his program, is as specific about the impact of these cuts as he dares without provoking added trouble abroad. He reports that the reduction in military assistance—already cut by one-third in the House—will have to be applied mainly in countries along the Communist perimeter from Greece to Korea, since our present commitments in Southeast Asia, barring total breakdowns there, can hardly be slacked off. The nearly forty per cent cut in the Alliance for Progress, according to Bell, is even more serious, coming at a time when several of the Latin American countries are beginning to face up to their internal responsibilities. Already Castro is exulting that Congress's action demonstrates that the Alliance is a fraud.

If appeals to longer-range self-interest have little effect in Congress, one may still wonder why the foreign-aid program fails to build a stronger lobby to promote its interests. One-third of the iron and steel we exported in 1962 was financed by AID, plus one-third of the fertilizer, one-fourth of the railway equipment, six per cent of other machinery, and, of course, a giant portion of our agricultural surplus. In addition to dollars paid out directly to American producers, AID has clearly had a pump-priming effect in stimulating increasing trade with countries brought along the path of economic development. Powerful lobbies in Washington depend on less convincing data.

With such a lobby lacking, the program has become the victim of manifold frustrations in Congress. Nor does it help matters when the President tries, as he did earlier this year, to show that he can be tougher than the tough guys toward foreign aid. It only serves to egg on the hatchet men. Mr. Kennedy, reportedly shocked by the House's cut, is seeking ways to make amends, provoking one AID official to comment, "Well, at least we now have the President on our side."

The Five-Hundred Foot Shelf

It was a snowy night in Washington as the scene unfolded before our weary eyes. We sorely needed rest, having just read through a fine-print list of 1,780 books selected for the new permanent White House library. But try as we would to prevent it, the scene just kept coming. The snow fell, and the wind howled: it was the terrible winter of 1966. Inside the White House, the President sought an evening's solace from the awesome burdens of his job, browsing in his cheery, firelit library. From somewhere in the section on Land and Agriculture his wife called to him:

"Barry?"

"Yes, dear."

"What was it you said just then?"

The President drew a book by Rostow, W. W., from a shelf and put it on a pile of others whose authors we could just make out—Galbraith, John Kenneth; Kennedy, Robert F.; Kennedy, John F.; Stevenson, Adlai Ewing; Goldberg, Arthur J. "I said I will never understand how they got away with this. You know I had no idea Arthur Schlesinger had written so many books—By God, there's another one." The President drew *The Age of Roosevelt* from the shelf. "Have you come across *Masters of Deceit*?" he called, "Hoover, J. Edgar, Holt, 1958?"

"You'll have to speak louder, dear," came the faint voice of the First Lady. "I can't hear what you're saying, I'm way over here in Medicine and Public Health."

"Where's that?"

"In the West Wing. I'm looking for something to relax you."

"In Public Health?"

"Well, here's one. It's called Fishbein, Morris; *A History of the American Medical Association*, Saunders, 1947. You might like that. But I still haven't found anything for myself."

The President sighed with affectionate impatience. "Well, I've told you the *fun* books are in the section called Literature. Why don't you look over there? There's all that Hemingway. You could read that."

"That's what you always say," replied the First Lady a little snappishly, "but I've read all the books by Hemingway."

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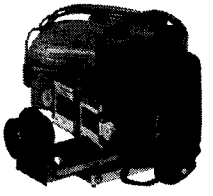

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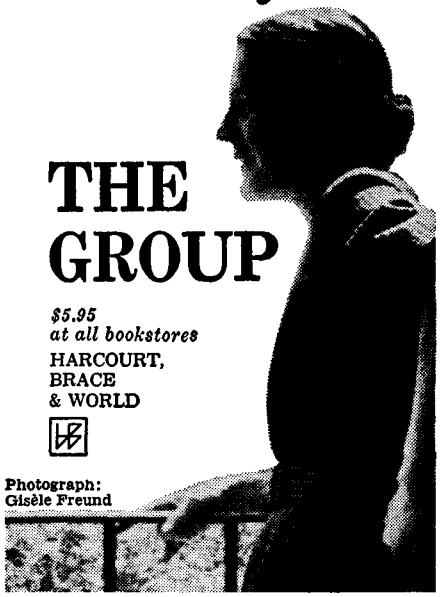

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"They are by *John* Dewey," the President thundered. "They go on that pile over there."

"Which pile?" asked the First Lady.

"The one with Laski, Harold; Hutchins, Robert Maynard; Lilienthal, David. Well, at least they are just about all American books in this library. I'll go along with that but—bless me if there isn't another one!" The President was just reaching for *The Age of Jackson* when the First Lady again called out. "Barry," she said, "I can't find a thing to *read.*"

The Cross of Gold

All the learned alarm about the outflow of gold is bound to puzzle a layman: the United States produces nearly $600 billion worth of goods and services a year, but the fact that on balance we owe to foreigners barely one half of one per cent of this sum per year apparently makes us do (or not do) things that strain our ability to continue growing; indeed, now and then it conjures up the specter of financial insolvency, the collapse of world trade, and similar disasters.

The disparity between the two magnitudes suggests strongly that it should not be an intolerable burden for the wealthiest country in the world to make an annual net contribution to the rest of the world that corresponds to fifty cents out of every $100 it produces. Yet as long as foreigners are paid dollars that

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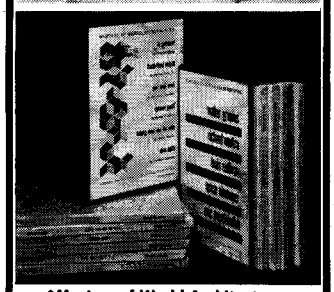

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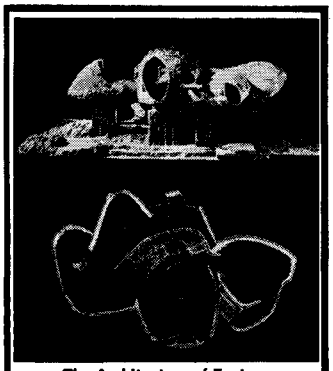

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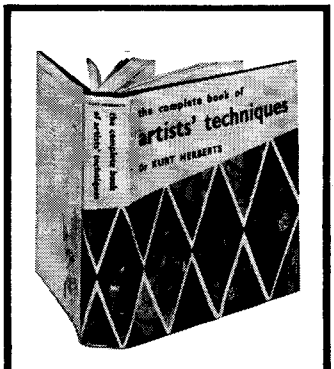

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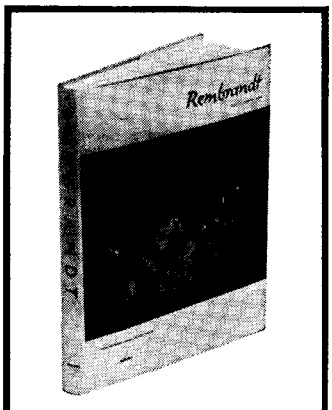

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entitle them to a claim on this country's gold stock, and as long as we believe that hanging onto gold is a matter of life and death, the sight of its draining away will continue to horrify the monetary authorities. If this is the only way in which the world's faith in the dollar can be maintained, the non-authority is apt to ask, isn't it time for a reappraisal of the cost of such faith compared to its alleged benefits? After all, this country survived the day some thirty years ago when its citizens were told they could no longer demand gold for their paper bills. Ever since, we have been quite willing to accept and hold dollar bills for no other reason than that we believe the United States is a going and growing concern. Yet we insist on stacking up gold at Fort Knox and scaring ourselves to death over its loss to other countries.

The economists who wrote the recent Brookings Institution report on balance-of-payments problems have had the good sense to take none of the rituals for granted and to ask the same sort of questions that occur to the layman. They suggest, though they are not the first to do so, that it might be a good idea to do away with the gold backing for our paper currency altogether and to devise a new mechanism for international payments to eliminate international clearing problems as determinants of domestic ups and downs. Flexible currency rates might be preferable to the constriction the present mechanism imposes.

Why should a pile of gold be safer company for a sound currency than an expanding economy? Why shouldn't the penalties that go along with being the world's common currency be transferred from the dollar to some yet-to-be-devised payments instrument? Why must one necessarily be considered either naïve or nefarious to raise such questions? The "practical" people usually answer such queries by repeating that any change would "undermine faith in the dollar." But the world's faith in the dollar—quite an unknown in itself—is apparently not growing under the present arrangement. Which is where we came in. No wonder they call economics the dismal science.

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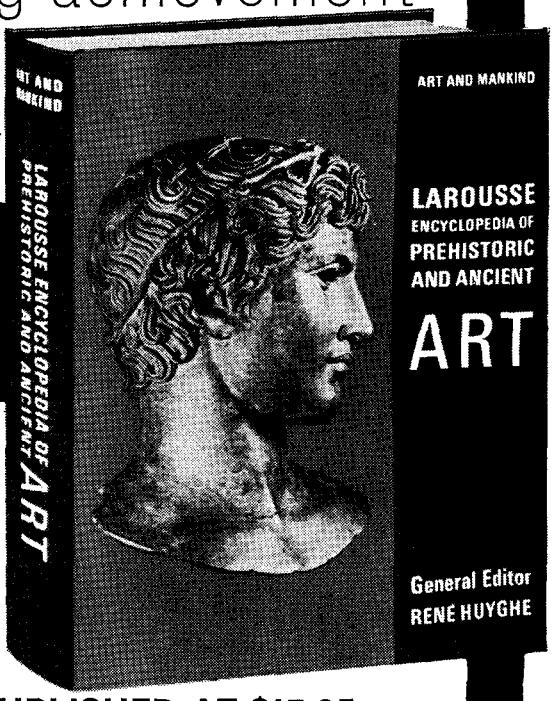

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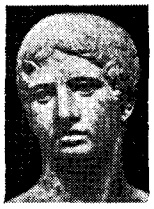

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2. Engine weight will be critical, particularly when the task involves orbital rendezvous.

3. Specific impulse must be improved over the current performance level of earth-storable propellants.

4. Variable thrust control will be required for maneuverability in space.

■ At United Technology Center we are now devoting major efforts toward development of engines to meet these demanding performance requirements.

■ New fluorine-based propellants, proved in more than 20 recent test firings at UTC, provide 20-25% higher I_{sp} than conventional fuels; and these new propellants are storable in space.

■ Engine weight has been reduced significantly by using filament-wound propellant tanks and highly efficient ablation-cooled thrust chambers. (Our recent test-firing using ablative chambers with fluorine-based propellants is an industry first.)

■ We have developed engines of various sizes which will stop and start in space, and which have thrust control over a range of 1 to 100. The advanced throttling techniques use aeration and variable area injectors.

■ In addition to our work in liquid engines, we are developing hybrid rocket engines which will combine the best qualities of both solid and liquid propellant engines. And UTC is the prime contractor for the first stage of the Air Force Titan III C, which includes two 120-inch diameter segmented solid rocket motors. Together, these motors will generate over 2 million pounds of thrust at lift-off, more than 80% of the vehicle's total thrust.

■ UTC's Sunnyvale headquarters have recently been enlarged and the Coyote Development Center's facilities are modern and extensive. Our 2,500 people provide us with a reserve of experience and talent. We have the men and machinery. This manpower and these facilities are devoted to advancing the state of the art for space propulsion.

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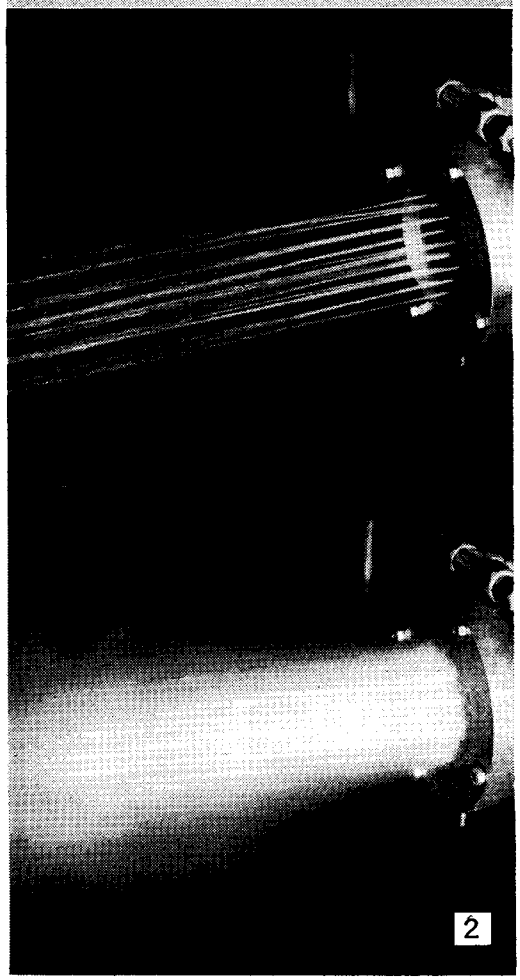
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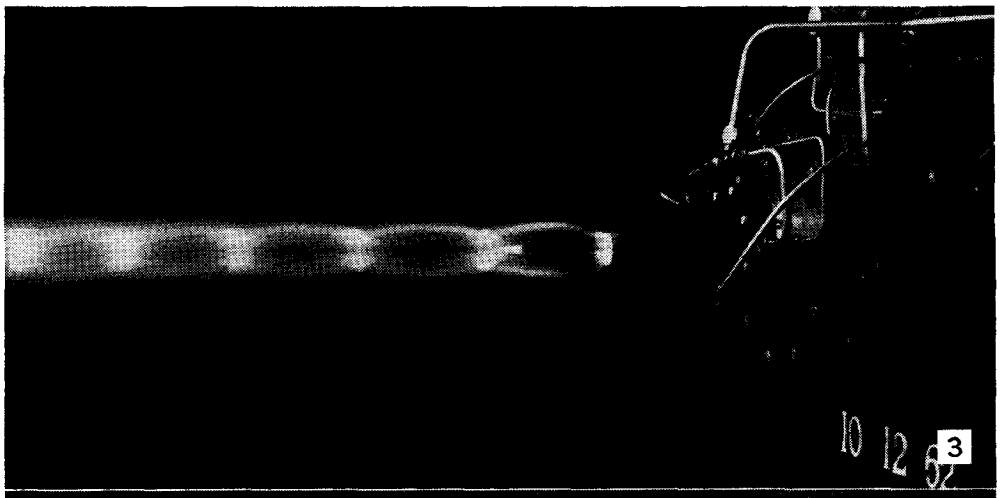

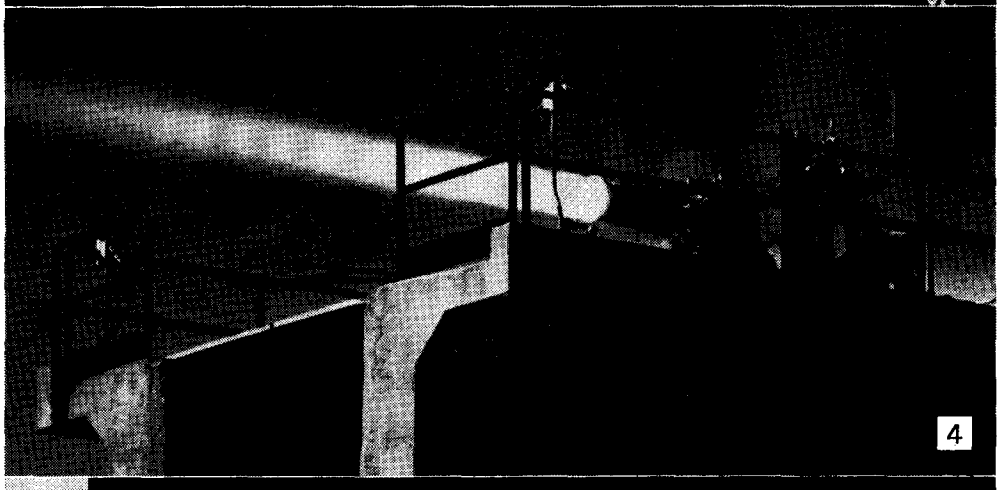

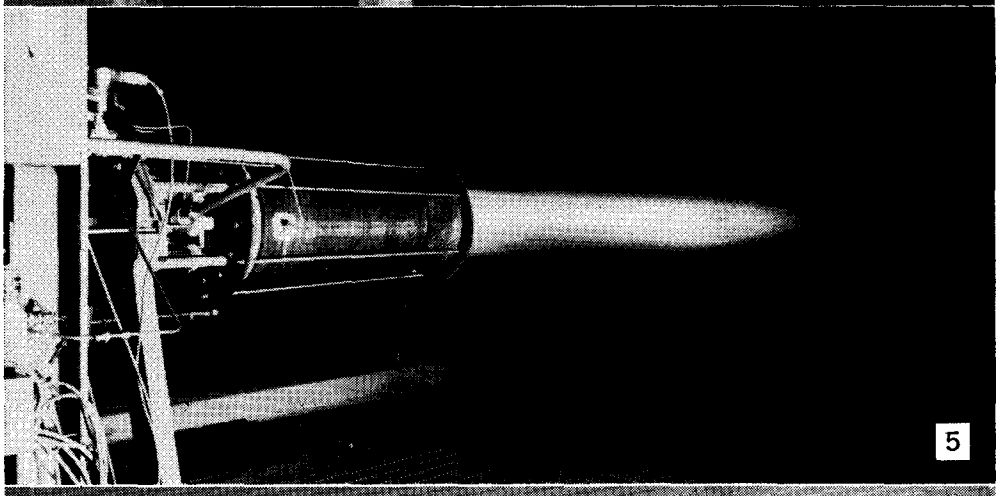

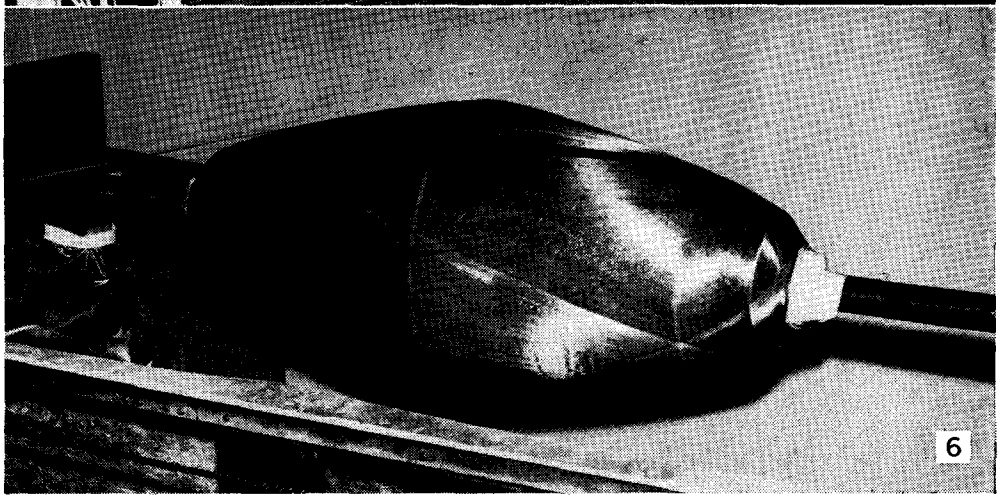

1. ABLATION-COOLED THRUST CHAMBER literally boils off its liner in order to cool itself. Ablative liners eliminate heavy, expensive tubing required for regenerative cooling systems.

■

2. VARIABLE THRUST CONTROL over a 1 to 100 range is now possible with UTC's technique of aeration. Conventional propellant injection (top) does not allow reduction of rate of flow without danger of unstable combustion. Aeration throttling (below) diffuses propellant and gives precision control.

■

3. SPACE SIMULATION TESTS prove the start-stop capability of advanced liquid propellant rocket engines. Flight-scale engines are hot fired in our test cells.

■

4. OVER 3,000 TEST FIRINGS have already been conducted at our three major test stands. This picture shows an engine using new fluorine-based propellants.

■

5. EXTENDED DURATION FIRING of lightweight storable liquid propellant engine achieved stable combustion and high efficiency over a period of almost twenty minutes in a recent test at UTC.

■

6. GLASS FIBER FILAMENT WINDING, a weight-saving fabricating technique, is being used for liquid propellant bottles for upper-stage engines.

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The Peace Games

EVER SINCE the atom bomb was first tested, the awareness that the atmosphere was being more and more contaminated with each explosion, that this presumably irreparable and timeless contamination was a potential threat to all living beings, has been poisoning the conscience of mankind. It was not right for man to take so wanton, and at the same time so immeasurable a liberty with nature. The community of scientists familiar with atomic fission has been rent by contradictions in its appraisal of the harm produced by each new release of fallout, although there was not much controversy over what would happen if bomb tests were to continue indefinitely and at an ever-increasing pace.

The tests, of course, except the one at Alamogordo, were all conducted in peacetime, and designed to provide actual knowledge of the destructiveness of weapons used in earnest. The tests were a new type of war game, a semblance or simulation of war, that could have been just the usual plaything generals are fond of had it not been for the lasting by-product that was fallout.

WELL BEFORE the Soviet Union found the way to build its first atomic bomb, our country showed its determination to bring under international control the destructiveness of the new weapon and that of its by-product. It is impossible to praise enough the effort the American government has pursued to relieve the world of the threat of atomic weapons, for there is no record in history of any country that, after having gained a fantastic military advantage, has been so anxious to get rid of it, so unwilling to use it even as a threat, so reluctant to undertake each new phase of development. From the Baruch Plan to the test-ban agreement, our country has been undeviating in its reliance on diplomatic negotiations to avoid having to test nuclear weapons over and over again, and sometime to use them in combat.

The test-ban treaty offers the supreme illustration of how far the American government has gone in order to reduce the danger of nuclear war. Yet to avoid war, nuclear or otherwise, does not necessarily mean to attain peace, though it has been said by the country's highest authorities, from the President down, that the treaty signed in Moscow is a step toward peace. But whose peace? When any measure of peace is obtained, it usually favors one or the other antagonist or is a compromise between them. In a condition of peace, conflicts of national viewpoints and interests are supposed to be somehow outgrown, in the sense at least that they turn into habits tolerant of each other and founded on some degree of confidence in each other.

There is an element of confidence in our country's recent agreement, but the confidence is all on our part. Less than a year after Cuba, we dare assume that the Soviet Union will respect the nuclear status quo. After so much bargaining over the number of inspections and the policing of tests, we now are satisfied, in the President's words, with the prohibition of "those tests we ourselves can police." In fact, we consider our own eventual detection of Soviet tests the equivalent of international policing.

Until recently the Soviet government was not very much concerned with the danger of fallout. The Soviet memorandum of September 29, 1961, puts it most clearly: "The truth must be faced squarely: at present, it is not a question of the harmful effects of atomic radiation on living organisms, but of delivering mankind from the danger of thermonuclear war . . . This can be achieved only through general and complete disarmament."

The preamble of the Moscow treaty formally proclaims as its signatories' principal aim "the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control . . ." Khrushchev has said it over and over again: international control will take place only as a result of general and complete disarmament. True, two successive administrations have seen fit to subscribe to this demagogic, meaningless formula while assiduously searching for some measure of gradual and reciprocally controllable reduction of armaments. Yet, in the preamble to this so-called "step toward peace," general and complete disarmament is once more endorsed by the governments of the United States and Great Britain.

YET even this bad treaty is to be welcomed if it offers a chance of bringing to an end the curse of atomic tests. The administration that has signed this treaty has assumed the responsibility of seeing to it that military and technological preparedness in all fields of armament is in no way slackened, and that the Soviet government will not be tempted once more to renege on its word. This will not happen, our people will not be deluded and gulled, if the Moscow treaty is considered not as a step toward peace but as the ultimate evidence of our nation's resolve to face any risk if there is a chance, no matter how slim, of putting an end to this nuclear nightmare.

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Ping-Pong on the Potomac

MEG GREENFIELD

WASHINGTON

ON August 19 the front page of the *Democrat,* the official newspaper of the Democratic National Committee, bore a huge and horrible picture of the figure of Death hovering over the world. In support of a view currently echoed in much of the public mail that favors a nuclear test-ban treaty—namely, that it will eliminate the hazards of radioactive fallout—the picture's reassuring caption read: "Strontium 90-89-88-87-." During that same week, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was continuing to take expert testimony on the subject, to the effect that fallout as a danger had been greatly overestimated in the past and that its elimination was not a principal factor in the treaty under consideration. "Normal testing," said the director of the Los Alamos laboratories, Norris E. Bradbury, who spoke in favor of the treaty, "does not give rise to a health hazard." Ordinary air pollution, AEC Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg told the committee, "is a much greater hazard to the health of the people than is fallout."

How were the senators to respond to the conflict between public and expert opinion? For those ill disposed toward the treaty, it was simple. "It runs in my mind," said Senator Bourke Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) in something like a commercial for fallout, "that we do have evidence in some kinds of life that a little stepped-up radiation has actually increased the strength of the recipient. I am talking about fish life . . ." But Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minnesota) summed up the predicament of those who favored the ban, in commenting on a controversial report that some children's health had been damaged by the fallout from nuclear testing. "I want to make my position clear, Doctor," he said to one of the witnesses. "I don't know whether this story has any merit or not, but I do know that, as one in public life, that what people think is true is oftentimes more important than what is true . . ." His remark could serve as the text for the whole treaty debate now under way in Washington.

Ghosts from the Past

In the stately Caucus Room, where the Foreign Relations Committee hearings were held, it sometimes seemed as if the Senate were drowning and its life were passing before it. Former AEC Commissioner Willard Libby, Dr. Edward Teller, Admiral Lewis Strauss, and Harold Stassen all came to testify. Though each has been associated with the diplomatic and political history of the test ban, curiously little of that history was reviewed by the senators; and even that which was, often didn't make the grade as history. Seven years of policy switches and *ad hominem* argument on both sides of the issue were transformed into a concerted bipartisan drive to achieve the present treaty. With repetition, for instance, it soon became an article of faith that three administrations (including that of Harry Truman) had sought a test-ban treaty; and the Eisenhower administration's 1959 proposal for a partial ban, though substantially different from the current one, was frequently discussed as if they were one and the same.

Still, if the chronicle of the witnesses' activities had been forgotten, their impact on public opinion had not been. It was evident in the need felt by those who opposed the treaty to assert again and again for the record their own essential humanity and good faith, and in the need felt by those who supported the treaty to proclaim their undying devotion to military security. Most of the administration's testimony, in fact, stressed its determination, despite the treaty, positively to step up the arms race. And so eager was it to rationalize the treaty on military grounds that it conspicuously failed to send a single witness from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to testify on its behalf, although the agency is nominally responsible for formulating policy in the field.

After seven years of all but incoherent public debate, in short, Washington is having to play to all the bogies it helped to create. And they are plentiful. What the people now "think is true," according to Senator Richard B. Russell's reading of his mail, goes something like this: ". . . those who oppose the treaty condemn those who favor it for being Communists or weaklings who are being duped by Mr. Khrushchev; and some of those who favor it indicate that those who oppose it are the hirelings of the munitions makers . . . who want to see a generation of twisted and distorted children throughout the earth."

EVEN IN an atmosphere more conducive to reasonable debate, both the administration and the senators would have had their problems. For instance, it has been argued that the administration, by marshaling so many high-level witnesses, called hostile attention to the treaty. But it is difficult to see what else they could have done. The test-ban treaty had about as much chance of passing unnoticed through the Senate as a division of Soviet tanks with Cuban markings might; and had not such witnesses as the Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Maxwell D. Taylor stepped forth with their so-called "orchestrated" testimony, it is safe to say that unorchestrated testimony

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would soon have been elicited from them by less friendly committees as well as by the press. Again, with Senatorial mail reportedly running against ratification, the administration was obligated to state its case in such a way as to make it politically feasible for the senators to go along. Hence the emphasis on what the treaty wouldn't do: it was easy to abrogate, it would not curtail the production of nuclear weapons.

For its part, the committee was faced not only with hostile mail but also with a treaty that had already been signed by more than fifty nations. To reject it, even Dr. Teller agreed, would be a diplomatic setback. The committee's members were noticeably less well equipped to deal with the scientific and military aspects of the treaty than were their guests from the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee. (". . . a 50-megaton bomb, my goodness, what would it do?" Senator Fulbright asked at one point.) Moreover, they seemed to have difficulty making up their minds as to what their proper function was. Were they convened to examine the treaty and its implications? To educate the public? To pave the way for ratification? Or to defend their own previously taken positions? As the hearings wore on, it became clear that many of the participating members had chosen the last of these functions. What a number of senators took to arguing was that war was bad or that military weakness was risky—impeccable sentiments that in themselves offer no answer on how the proposed treaty would bring on or ward off either. Increasingly, too, many senators tended to receive any evidence that threatened their own positions on the treaty as something to be discredited rather than considered. Secretary McNamara, as Senator Strom Thurmond (D., South Carolina) saw it, was a "confidence man." Dr. Teller, in the view of Senator Wayne Morse (D., Oregon), was one of the "doubt creators" who had "really between the lines been advocating" unabated atmospheric testing which would lead to war. This latter motif, in fact, has run through the present debate in Washington, rather as it has, according to Senator Russell, back home in Georgia.

Cycle of Cathay

It is one of the peculiarities of the present political climate that senators such as Morse and Fulbright and journalists such as Norman Cousins, who had no trouble a few years back understanding what was amiss about suggesting that a man who favored a test-ban treaty was probably soft on Communism, have themselves taken to implying that anyone who opposes a treaty wouldn't much mind, say, if three hundred million people were to be killed. Indeed, the wheel has come full circle: those who oppose a test ban are now likened to *Chinese* Communists. Cousins, for instance, who testified on behalf of the treaty, has elaborated on what he calls "a new grouping in the world political arena" between those who would and those who would not object to nuclear devastation. "Echoing the line of the Chinese Communists," he explained, "are those in the United States and the Western world who still think in terms of military solutions . . ." Who objects to the nuclear test-ban treaty? Walter Lippmann has recently been asking himself that question and answering: the Chinese Communists, who "hate" it; the Air Force generals; and Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Washington), who also "hates" to vote for it. "Since anyone who knows Senator Jackson would like to respect him," Lippmann has added generously, "he should try again to make up his mind." But what if Jackson makes up his mind that the treaty is not in the best interests of the country? Is that a legitimate position? Or is it prima facie evidence of some hideous motivation? Senator Fulbright has, in the course of the hearings, made his position on both questions clear. Thus, though others had agreed that only by atmospheric nuclear testing could the conditions of war be sufficiently simulated to check with certainty the effectiveness of an anti-missile defense, when Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., director of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (who opposed the treaty), made the point, the following exchange occurred:

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not advocating to go to war in order to prove the efficiency of your weapons?

DR. FOSTER: Obviously not, Sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, it is not clear from that page whether or not you would not like to try it.

Rules of the Game

It *was* clear, of course. The public hearings were simply turning into a game. The subject was serious enough to suggest Russian roulette, but the game itself was rather more like Ping-pong. The object was to score debating points without actually debating. One could push the opponent's statement to a ridiculous conclusion, for example, or raise nonsensical suspicions, or answer a question other than that which was raised; and the rules permitted any number of self-contradictions so long as the player seemed to return the shot. Thus Senator Fulbright had construed Foster's somewhat commonplace exchange with Hickenlooper on the subject of Soviet secrecy to mean that we had no secrets at all, and he demanded to know whether the Russians would be given the run of Foster's laboratory in California. Some Russians had in fact visited there, Foster was reckless enough to reply. Whereupon Senator Thurmond wanted to know "just who" those Russians were. And so on. A confused Young American for Freedom misread the name of Foster's E. O. Lawrence Laboratory for Foster and cited "Dr. Lawrence" at one point in his testimony the next day. Dr. Lawrence had died in 1959, Fulbright informed him. Well, said the youth, he was certain he had just read about him in the Baltimore *Sun*. "Very interesting," said Senator Hickenlooper darkly, that the Baltimore *Sun* "should choose

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Dr. Lawrence, who has been dead for quite a number of years, or someone else . . . it is an interesting situation."

In the House that day, Representative Craig Hosmer (R., California) was proving that any number could play. Secretary Rusk, who had sworn under oath that the treaty carried no secret side agreements, finally had the bad luck to convince Hosmer that he was telling the truth. In view of the vague language of the treaty, Hosmer now informed the House, "Failure to have made such an agreement, secret or otherwise, as to the meaning of the treaty's words is both reckless and improvident." It was the high point of a week full of high points.

ONE FAVORITE gambit of those who favored the treaty was to raise the subject of "overkill" when charges were made that the ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere would retard development of an effective missile defense—that is, to observe, as the President did, that we already had enough weapons to annihilate "300,000,000 people in one hour." The statement was imposing, but it had nothing to do with the question. Indeed, for the sake of the immediate counter, a considerable sacrifice in logic was made. Thus, Senator Fulbright risked losing his particular war to win a battle with Senators Frank Lausche (D., Ohio) and Hickenlooper. Lausche, in questioning Rusk, had rehearsed the history of treaties broken in the past by the Soviet Union. Presumably, the answer involved the degree of trust required by the treaty, the gains the Russians might make by cheating, and the safeguards in the treaty against their making any significant advances. Fulbright, however, moved in to make a debating point. Was the Russians' habit of breaking treaties unique? he asked. Had not many other countries—even friendly ones—broken treaties with us too? It was, for the moment, an effective countershot. But on reflection, the fact that most countries break their treaties did not seem a very good argument for ratifying one.

On Black Tuesday, or Teller Day, everyone was ready for a particularly swift game of Ping-pong. But what Dr. Teller had in mind was more like Japanese wrestling. Burly, loud, dramatic, intense, he mesmerized the hearing room for six hours. By afternoon, Senator Thomas Dodd (D., Connecticut), an original sponsor of a partial test-

ban treaty in the Senate, had announced that he might change his mind, reportedly causing an enormous flap at the White House. There was a visible increase of note-passing from staff aides and administration observers to the senators at the main table. But none of the questions seemed to work. At one point Teller seemed about to be trapped. Carefully Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho) read several statements Teller had made in the past to the effect that atmospheric testing was unnecessary. How could Teller reconcile the statements with his present position, Church wanted to know. "I don't reconcile them," Teller boomed back. "They are contradictory . . . the biggest part of the contradiction . . . is to be explained by the fact that I have changed my mind." He went on to contend that he had changed his mind as a result of the Soviet Union's progress in its later test series toward a ballistic-missile defense, a problem to which he had been "blind" in the past. The senators were back to where they had started. "Thank you very much, Senator Church," Dr. Teller had said. "I am very grateful that you are giving me this opportunity."

What Might Have Been

Despite the reluctance of the administration and many of the senators to enter into serious public debate about the treaty, the elements of a potential debate began to emerge in the course of the hearings. Disagreement on its military implications centered on the development, deployment, and testing of an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system in the absence of atmospheric testing. It was the contention of the critics that the Russians had gained knowledge permitting them to develop an effective ABM. The Defense Department's reply was that most of the problems relevant to the development of the ABM did not require further atmospheric testing, that uncertainties could be "designed around" and compensated for, and that in any event the Soviet Union was not, as Teller claimed, ahead of us in relevant knowledge. The Joint Chiefs, on the other hand, conceded that "there were military disadvantages to the treaty," but allowed as how they were made up for in political gains. In fact, though the hearings were mostly devoted to technological questions, there were frequent allusions to diplomatic and political factors that would offset or complicate them, but since these were scarcely discussed, no one could be sure from day to day what they were. Why had the Russians agreed to the treaty? Exactly how would the treaty work to halt proliferation? Was underground testing really too expensive for small countries, as the administration claimed? Or was it, as in Dr. Teller's view, relatively cheap? What *were* the political gains that would offset the risks? "What," as Senator Hickenlooper asked in a realistic moment, "does the treaty *do*?" Partly because of its own predicament, the administration was rather vague about these questions, which a majority of the senators failed to pursue anyway. In open hearings, the case was not made for the treaty so much as was the case for not worrying too much about it.

The Absolute Weapon

Walter Lippmann took on Dr. Teller a couple of days after the scientist's public testimony. His column may have revealed the final hopelessness of trying to argue out loud in any direction about the test-ban treaty at this date in history. In addition to giving his readers assurance that the arms race "will, of course, continue" under the treaty,

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Lippmann took Teller to task on two specific points. He deplored Teller's belief that continued atmospheric testing would allow the United States to "achieve the absolute weapon." Such a "unique breakthrough" was a "romantic form of self-deception," Lippmann said. "Dr. Teller's promise that American scientists will be able to do what the Soviet scientists will not be able to do is not a scientific judgment. It is a reckless pseudo-patriotic gamble on the inherent superiority of American over Russian scientists." He added: "In the Soviet Union there are, of course, the counterparts of Dr. Teller and the Air Force generals who would like to try for the decisive breakthrough to an absolute weapon." The only trouble was that Teller and the other opponents of the treaty had not argued the superiority of American scientists at all; they were worried about the possibility of Soviet scientists' stealing a march on them. Teller's statement began with a list of Soviet scientific achievements that we had not foreseen, and Foster's testimony finally prompted Fulbright to inquire, "You do not want to leave the impression that the Russian scientists are more able than ours, do you?" As for the "absolute weapon" in whose existence he so obtusely believed, Teller did mention the "ultimate weapon," and this is what he said: "I don't think that the words 'ultimate weapons' have any meaning whatsoever. There is no such thing as the ultimate weapon."

THERE IS one thing that ratification of a test-ban treaty will surely do. It will end seven years of what may have been the most incredibly confused debate in American political history. That in itself may not be cause for euphoria, but it's not cause for dyspepsia either. After all, sooner or later people were bound to notice that Lippmann and Teller were in agreement on two essential points —the relative capabilities of American and Soviet scientists and the implausibility of the absolute weapon. And after that it would only be a matter of time until someone felt compelled to point out that Walter Lippmann was probably a tool of the U.S. Air Force and, by extension, a Chinese Communist.

First Step to What?

ERNEST A. GROSS

THE U.S.-British-Soviet communiqué of July 25, proclaiming agreement on a nuclear test-ban treaty, also expressed the belief that this would prove to be "an important first step toward the reduction of international tension and the strengthening of peace." To that end, it was announced, the three goverments had "discussed the Soviet proposal relating to a pact of nonaggression between the participants in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the participants in the Warsaw Treaty," and that they had agreed to consult with their "respective allies . . . with the purpose of achieving agreement satisfactory to all participants."

No proposal for reducing tension ought to be neglected. Nevertheless, it is essential to consider whether any proposal avowing such high aims is a foundation stone of peace or a stepping stone of imperialism. The proposed nonaggression pact should be appraised accordingly.

It is not enough to say, as Khrushchev did in the somewhat contrived euphoria of the test-ban ceremonies, that a nonaggression pact would show the world that "the nuclear powers have reached agreement among themselves with the aim of avoiding thermonuclear war." Such an aim was, after all, supposed to have been agreed upon at San Francisco in May of 1945.

The pledge of the United Nations Charter to refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner "inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" may justly be called the most solemn nonaggression pact in history. Its solemnity is not attributable to any uniquely idealistic quality; few treaties in history have been by-passed or breached with greater regularity or by more signatories. What sets the Charter pledge apart is the fact that it is accompanied by machinery for giving it practical effect and by commitments to use that machinery.

The road to peace is strewn with abandoned nonaggression pacts, wrecked either by absence of machinery to make them effective or, as in the case of the most elaborate —the League of Nations—by default of the commitment to make use of the machinery available. Is a remedy to be found in repeating promises already given?

MORE to the point, the history of nonaggression pacts shows that they have been abortive when well-conceived, treacherous when ill-intentioned.

In the first category is the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact for the Outlawry of War—a monumental attempt to moralize war out of existence. Within eight years of the renunciation of war "as an instrument of national policy," three signatories had, respectively, committed aggression against the people of China, Ethiopia, and Spain.

The second category—the ill-intentioned pact—has been exemplified by undertakings of the Soviet Union itself. The 1939 nonaggression pledges exchanged by Hitler and Stalin, followed by the Soviet-Japanese accord at the end of that year, were both preludes to treachery, and it is difficult to believe they involved either mutual or self-deception.

The consistent failure of naked pacts and alliances—that is, those unattended by compulsory processes for adjusting differences—led to efforts in the years between the two World Wars either to "define" aggression or to establish effective machinery for peaceful settlement of conflict.

The first of these efforts has invariably been thwarted by human ingenuity in devising new forms of aggression or by disagreement as to what constitutes aggression in a particular case. The Soviet government labels as aggressive many German policies regarded by the West as legitimate exercise of the sovereign

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rights of defense and association: examples are German adherence to NATO and establishment of a military force. The West, on the other hand, views coercive Soviet devices such as the Wall, to say nothing of the Berlin blockades, as at least indirect aggression. Forty years ago, a British Foreign Secretary warned that definitions of aggression "would set traps for the innocent and signposts for the guilty." The warning is even more relevant in the age of overkill and indirect aggression, when overt violation of geographical frontiers is less probable than the subversion of men's institutions and aggression upon their freedoms.

It is, of course, too much to expect a frank and credible explanation by the Soviet Union of its motive in proposing a nonaggression pact; we have become conditioned to living without candor in our relations with the Kremlin.

Some seek explanation through what may be called the science of meteorological diplomacy: such a pact may be expected to generate a better "climate," or "atmosphere." Thus, the Manchester *Guardian* of August 8, admitting that "it is not obvious what benefits such a treaty would confer on the two sides," nevertheless concludes that it would provide "a suitable setting for a Summit meeting" and that it "would do some good."

Apart from furnishing a good example of begging the question—how would it be "suitable" and why would it be "good"?—the analysis reflects a tendency, too prevalent in an anxious age, to look to the "climate," just as, in an earlier time, the zodiac was studied for political portents. The evanescent spirit of Geneva and Camp David shows the doubtful future of this science. An indispensable element—predictability—will be lacking so long as the weather remains subject to change, without warning, from the Kremlin.

What They Hope to Gain

An assessment of possible Soviet motives in proposing a nonaggression pact, like any appraisal of motivation, should center upon major fears and aspirations. There is little room for doubt that the Soviet Union has been alarmed by West Germany's economic and military revival. It is undoubtedly true that the partition of Germany causes little grief to the countries of Western Europe, twice ravaged in a generation. Nevertheless, a divided Germany in a divided Europe offers small promise indeed of a secure future.

The fundamental issue remains what it has been since 1946: upon what terms will Germany be reunified? "There can be no question of reunification," Khrushchev has said, "unless the existence of two German states is recognized as a fact."

What constitutes *de facto* recognition is an elusive question in international law. Unlike recognition *de jure*—a formal governmental action—factual recognition flows from conduct which, in practical effect, accepts the existence of a state as a fact, without regard to its character or quality.

IT IS DIFFICULT to think of a clearer example of conduct that would have this effect than the conclusion of a nonaggression pact. The only conceivable purpose of such a pact is to assure the inviolability of existing frontiers; and a so-called "frontier" that did not delimit a state would be like the smile left behind by the Cheshire Cat.

In the hope of avoiding the inescapable political, moral, and legal consequences of a treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, formulistic devices have been suggested, such as simultaneous separate declarations. But this is wide of the mark. The legal significance of an agreement does not depend upon its form or label. As Judge Philip C. Jessup has written: "The fundamental question is whether a State has given a promise or undertaking from which flow international legal rights and duties." It is a matter of course that such rights and duties may arise by unilateral act or declaration. The object of a nonaggression undertaking, in whatever form it may be couched, is to give rise to "international legal rights and duties." Otherwise, who is fooling whom?

Any discussion of the purposes of a nonaggression pact should include at least a passing reference to possible western objectives. Leaving aside the tenuous prospect of improving the political weather, there is, of course, the problem of Berlin. No respectable method should be ignored that might reduce the vulnerability of this western enclave a hundred miles behind enemy lines. The question remains, however, what practical values would flow from mere reaffirmation of explicit pledges already given to assure free access to the city.

Following the unsuccessful Soviet attempt, by means of the Berlin blockade, to impose unilateral controls on western access to the city, the Council of Foreign Ministers of France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States exchanged formal pledges regarding the matter. A communiqué issued in June, 1949, announced agreement that "the occupation authorities, each in his own zone, will have an obligation to take the measures necessary to insure the normal functioning and utilization of rail, water and road transport" for the "movement of persons and goods and communications between the eastern zone and the western zones and between the zones and Berlin . . ."

More recently, however, the Soviet government has insisted that the wartime agreements for four-power occupation of Germany and Berlin have become void and that West Berlin be converted into a demilitarized "free city." The Soviets threatened to formalize their position by signing a peace treaty with East Germany and "abolishing the occupation régime." A Soviet retraction of such a contention, either explicit or implicit, would, no doubt, be a source of at least transitory comfort. But it raises old questions: How often is it necessary to buy back the same horse? And for how much?

What of the Hundred Million?

It is generally conceded, at least in the United States, that *de facto* recognition of an East German state would profoundly demoralize not only the East Germans but the whole of Eastern Europe as well.

The heart of the matter is not the determination of frontiers; it is the self-determination of peoples. In few if any other areas of the world would a despised and hollow régime be repudiated with a closer approach to unanimity through free popular

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choice. There is, accordingly, no people standing in greater need of the protection of the pledge in the United Nations Charter that all members—including the Soviet Union—will respect "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples"—including East Europeans.

This, at any rate, is the interpretation given by the United States to the Charter's reach. Unfortunately, it does not correspond to the Soviet view, which has repeatedly insisted that another section of the Charter, Article 107, specifically excludes Germany from the ambit of the United Nations.

The Soviet government has never deviated from this position, although the United States and other western powers have always insisted that nothing in the Charter prevents members from bringing their differences to the attention of the United Nations organs and that the prohibition of the threat or use of force is universally applicable—as is the Charter's protection of the right of self-determination of peoples.

An appraisal of the legal and political effects of the proposed pact shows how reckless it would be to ignore so basic a conflict in the views of the principal parties concerning the applicability of the United Nations Charter to Germany and Berlin, which are the treaty's essential subject matter.

Accordingly, in the event that reasons of state, not apparent from the public record, impel our government to give serious consideration to a nonaggression pact, the minimum of prudence requires that the application of the United Nations Charter to Germany be reaffirmed by the United States, and affirmed for the first time by the Soviet Union.

It is true that such an affirmation would involve a reversal of traditional Soviet attitudes toward both Germany and the United Nations. This is precisely why a clear statement of position is imperative. The frontiers of Eastern Europe would, by necessary implication, be settled by the pact, whereas the rights of the peoples behind those frontiers would remain unsettled and obscure. Soviet insistence upon exclusion of Germany from the protection of the Charter serves notice that the Soviet government would contend, with plausible conviction, that our silence—in the face of its well-known position—implied acceptance of its own interpretation of its rights and obligations under the treaty.

In sum, a nonaggression pact, reasonably interpreted, would add nothing to solemn pledges already exchanged; it would involve *de facto* recognition of the existence of an East German state and would sanction the partition of Europe; it would (unless accompanied by explicit affirmation to the contrary) raise grave doubts concerning the applicability of the United Nations Charter; and it would neither assure security against indirect aggression nor promote the rights and freedoms of a hundred million people in Eastern Europe.

Isolating Our Allies

NILS ORVIK

The French reaction to the test-ban treaty was certainly no surprise. The Kennedy administration was fully aware that the treaty might lead to French isolation in Europe but found this a minor risk compared to the advantages likely to be derived from a formal agreement. The French would insist on their deviationist course, but they would not leave the alliance. They would have no other choice, nowhere else to go. They would stay in the fold. The theory seems to have been that sooner or later President de Gaulle would either have to give in or be forced out of office.

In my opinion, a "hard line" U.S. policy, isolating France from its western partners, cannot contribute to cohesion and close co-operation in the alliance. Even if the "quarantine" should succeed in bringing the French to their knees, it would not be long before other members of the western alliance would begin asking who would come next. The Germans have reluctantly agreed to sign the treaty but are not likely to give very active support to the Kennedy administration in its contest of wills with de Gaulle. The Soviet stress on a nonaggression pact and non-nuclear zones must make the Germans fear they will be left with the bill for an East-West *rapprochement*. And the Germans are not alone in wondering what role the United States visualizes for its European allies.

For the past fifteen years the United States has worked hard and persistently to build Europe into a strong, democratic community of nations, able to run its own affairs and provide as much as possible for its own defense. To this end the Americans have contributed both economically and militarily to the establishment and development of NATO. The United States also welcomed the European Economic Community, or Common Market. It can hardly be denied that France has played a major role in both organizations and still does so. Thus it is difficult to see how the two major vehicles of western unity, NATO and EEC, on which the West Europeans have set their hopes, can function effectively with France in an isolated position. But the way in which pressure against France is building up is disturbing.

A New York *Times* dispatch (July 26) has noted: "The United States and Britain would thereby [Article I] be barred from assisting France in her contemplated testing program which is directed at developing an independent nuclear force. The Soviet Union similarly would be restricted in extending any assistance to the nuclear weapons program of Communist China." As it is phrased, this sounds as if these are parallel cases. They are not. The Soviets and Chinese are locked in a struggle for leadership of world Communism. China raises the claim to lead not only the existing Communist countries and parties but also potential converts in the uncommitted regions that the Chinese

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hope to win by force, subversion, or persuasion. Thus, China threatens the Soviet Union in a global conflict as well as on its borders.

It is true that France is trying to develop an independent nuclear capability. Britain has had such a force for a number of years, but some people appear to think that an independent French nuclear deterrent would be much more dangerous than the British one. Why this should be so has never been made clear. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of President de Gaulle's nonaggression pledge. The most likely case that could involve the use of French nuclear weapons would be a Soviet attack on France. But such an attack would surely mean a general war in any event.

What it boils down to is that the French president has voiced opinions and views on the alliance that are not shared by the Kennedy administration. Apparently de Gaulle is not convinced that the United States would in all cases risk the use of its nuclear weapons to prevent the Soviet Union from gaining control over Western European territory. His main concern is the security of France. He maintains that the U.S. guarantees may be good enough for other members of the alliance but do not satisfy France's needs for national security. De Gaulle has not expressed any urge to get the Americans out or to replace the United States as the protector of Europe. On the contrary, at his press conference of July 29 he went very far to stress his allegiance to NATO and to the United States. In a general war, "France, with the means that she has, would be at the side of the United States, and I believe that the converse would be true."

De Gaulle is a difficult man whose single-minded preoccupation with France and its national interests creates serious problems for the allies. Co-operation in Western Europe as well as in the Atlantic Community would have been much simpler if he had conformed. His rejection of British, and thereby Scandinavian, membership in the Common Market will not be forgotten. But whether he is right or wrong, he is there and he has national support, and France, isolated or not, will continue to be an extremely important part of Europe.

THERE MUST certainly be serious efforts made to reach arms-control arrangements with the Soviet Union, but such agreements must not disrupt the cohesion of the Atlantic Community on which its future security depends. The present test-ban treaty does not prevent the United States from providing France with the assistance and nuclear information to make further tests unnecessary. France is already a nuclear power, and de Gaulle is determined to go ahead developing a complete weapons system. These facts should be faced squarely.

Since the French will eventually acquire a nuclear capability anyway,

why not give them the necessary information while it can still be interpreted as a vote of confidence? Neither the Nassau agreement of December nor President Kennedy's unspecified offer of nuclear talks in return for France's signature falls in this category. Why wait until bitterness has destroyed the mutual trust and understanding that still exists?

There is agreement in most NATO countries that the use of nuclear weapons should be entrusted to one centralized command system; fifteen fingers on the trigger will not do. But a centralized command does not necessarily mean American monopoly, with the European nations having no share in the decisions upon which their security and safety rest. Even Paul-Henri Spaak, a severe critic of many of de Gaulle's policies who first opened talks on the present test ban, has said: "It is difficult to suppose that great European countries such as Great Britain and France can be completely excluded from the formulation of nuclear strategy and from the execution of it in times of war." In order to bring about such centralization, the major members of the alliance that have a nuclear capability must agree on a common policy; they must define the contingencies, the methods for reaching a decision, and other practical measures to make the deterrent credible, and at the same time they must guard against misuse and war by accident.

The problem is not insoluble, but a solution is unlikely to be found unless some kind of equality is established among the major western powers. If the United States wants to remain the leader of a progressive, co-operating Atlantic Community, it must be willing to share decisions that involve nuclear as well as conventional defense. Europe in the 1960's is different from the Europe of the 1940's and 1950's, and the clock cannot be turned back. If the test ban is to be beneficial for the West, France must be offered the necessary information and assistance to complete its nuclear program without further testing.

IT SHOULD also be borne in mind that the nuclear issue has a scientific and industrial aspect. To quote Spaak again: "Is it really essential to European pride that Europe discover again what was long ago discovered in the United States? And on the other hand, would the security of the United States be jeopardized if it told its friends secrets which are already known to its enemies?"

It is certainly to be hoped that the present test-ban treaty marks the modest beginnings of a new era in East-West relations. But while exploring all possibilities for negotiating future agreements in a conciliatory atmosphere, we must make sure that our eager and honest attempts to stabilize relations do not erode the foundations on which we all stand.

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Vietnam:
A Dynasty in Disorder

DENIS WARNER

SAIGON

DISRUPTION in the state of Vietnam was preceded by disruption in the ruling family. For some time President Ngo Dinh Diem's brother Ngo Dinh Nhu and his wife had not even bothered to conceal their impatience at his "weakness" in handling the defiance of the Buddhists. Madame Nhu had frequently differed with her own father, who finally felt compelled to resign as Vietnamese ambassador to Washington. And the redoubtable lady further split the ranks by ordering an investigation into the business affairs of another of her brothers-in-law, Ngo Dinh Can, who has been running things in central Vietnam.

An even graver threat to family security, however, was the split between the Nhus and Dr. Tran Kim Tuyen, formerly head of the secret police, a defrocked Catholic priest who for years stood between Diem and the chances of a successful *coup d'état*. After the unsuccessful coup in November, 1960, Tuyen, who was well aware of the régime's shortcomings, joined with other like-minded members of the government in preparing a long memorandum to Diem in which they proposed a number of reforms. Twenty pages of the document were devoted to Madame Nhu. As Tuyen feared, Diem rejected the reforms and Madame Nhu reacted furiously, though for another two years Tuyen and Nhu appeared to remain close friends. The association ended early this year when Nhu "bugged" the tables at the Cigale, the night haunt of Tuyen's circle, and learned that when they talked of *coups d'état* it was not always in the way that might be expected of a loyal chief of secret police. Nhu and Madame Nhu's brother, Tran Van Khiem, took over his duties.

Tuyen's removal from office coincided with the events that brought the simmering discontent with the government, and in particular with the president's family, to a head early in May. The timing was singularly unfortunate. Tuyen was not only the eyes and ears of the régime but also had close links with the Buddhist community. By the time his advice was belatedly sought, ignorance, miscalculations, ineptitude, stupidity, dishonesty, and bad luck had led the government into provoking the open hostility of the Buddhist community, which has a hard core of about four million adherents and commands the loyalty of nearly three-quarters of the population of fourteen million.

The trouble came to a head in Hué, the center of activity for the president's brothers Ngo Dinh Can and Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc. During the first week of May the Catholics of Hué had decorated the city with crosses, Vatican flags, and large pictures of Archbishop Thuc to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination as a bishop. These ceremonies ended on Sunday, May 5, only three days before the annual observance of Buddha's birthday, which is celebrated traditionally in Vietnam by processions, prayers in the pagodas, and the raising of Buddhist flags and the setting up of lanterns and altars in the streets and homes of the Buddhist community.

Blood by the Perfumed River

On the night of May 6, while the city streets were still festooned with Thuc's pictures and Vatican flags, a telegram from the presidency in Saigon ordered enforcement of a regulation that only the national flag should be flown during religious ceremonies. Most Buddhists did not obey the order, and the chief of the province, a Buddhist, did nothing to prevent the flags from being flown. Meanwhile, the Catholic decorations remained on the bridge across the Perfumed River, which the Buddhist procession has always passed on its way to the Tu Dam Pagoda. The Buddhists, carrying defiant banners, crossed the river in sampans. At the pagoda, Superior Thich Tri Quang, whose name means Brilliant Mind and who indeed has emerged as a gifted tactician, addressed the crowd on the injustice of religious discrimination. In the evening a larger crowd of about ten thousand, including many students who had not attended during the day, gathered at the radio station to listen to a rebroadcast of the address. But the chief of the province appeared and announced that the rebroadcasting equipment had failed. Later he admitted that the government had forbidden the rebroadcast.

The crowd became restive and angry. Major Dang Sy, the deputy province chief and a Catholic, telephoned a report on the situation to Archbishop Thuc. After a good deal of consultation, the final order, issued apparently by the president's brother Can with the knowledge and approval of Archbishop Thuc, was that the crowd should be dispersed.

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The well-fed bananas of Colombia

Not far from the banana boats that come and go in Cartagena's harbor are two modern chemical plants, newly built adjacent to the Esso refinery to produce fertilizer for Colombia's banana growers and farmers.

Bananas are an important factor in Colombia's export trade. Until recently, the cost of imported fertilizer was a retarding influence on the nation's agriculture and a drain on foreign exchange. Every peso a banana grower spends on fertilizer can add up to four pesos to the value of his crop; lower prices for these nutrients will stimulate their use, increase growers' profits, and promote expanded production.

Jersey Standard's affiliate, International Petroleum Company, has made large investments in Colombia in oil exploration and production, refining and marketing. Its investment in an ammonia plant and its participation with others in a fertilizer plant are further commitments to the future of a nation which welcomes private enterprise as a key force in economic progress.

Around the world, Jersey and its affiliates are investing in ammonia and fertilizer plants costing well over 100 million dollars. Together with many other major investments in oil and chemicals, they help the United States keep pace in today's competition for expanding markets. Throughout the free world they spur production, raise living standards and make increased trade possible. Benefits to others are matched by benefits at home—in returns to shareholders and in stimulus to economic growth.

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LAST MAN OUT

He carries the burden of decision.

He knows that his markets are changing every day . . . that taste is sharpening . . . buying resistance stiffening.

He recognizes that marketing efficiency can be the key to profit:

His products must appeal . . .

His distribution must reach . . .

His sales messages must convince his company's *best prospects.*

For most products, these are the people with better education and higher income . . . the *growth* segment of the American market . . . *the increasing numbers who read magazines.*

They are responsible for the surge in magazine circulation. (Now at the all-time high.) *They believe in print.* They believe what they read in magazines. And when people believe . . . they *buy.*

If *you* haven't examined magazines recently, shouldn't you?

You won't be first to discover that they are the growth advertising medium of the 60's.

Can you afford to be last?

MAGAZINES MAKE THINGS HAPPEN!

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In establishing command responsibility and in explanation of the government's reluctance to take what the Buddhists would regard as appropriate measures against those responsible for subsequent events, the role of the president's brothers Thuc and Can is of vital importance. For while the government reluctantly went at least halfway toward meeting most of the other initial Buddhist demands, it was unwilling to admit the family was to blame.

When fire hoses failed to disperse the crowd, Major Sy ordered the artillery to fire blank shells. When this also failed, the police and troops who had been called to the scene used tear gas and grenades on the crowd, now jammed tight in the street outside the radio station.

The government's explanation that Viet Cong rebels threw plastic grenades was not accepted by any western investigator. Though opinions differ as to the cause of the eight deaths that occurred, all agree that the government forces were responsible. A German doctor who examined the bodies thought they had been killed by artillery shells. The Buddhists accuse the government forces of using their armored cars as battering rams. Certain Americans believed that concussion grenades generally used in training were responsible, and that some of the dead and wounded were later run over by armored cars as they lay on the ground.

As the government attempted to blame the Viet Cong and to accuse the Buddhist leaders of Communist affiliations, the anger of the Buddhists mounted. Diem wavered, torn between western advice to be compassionate and the demands of Nhu and his wife to crush the Buddhists as he had crushed the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai sects and the Binh Xuyen gangsters in 1955. The Buddhists exploited his indecision to the full, profiting both from police violence and from lack of violence, and from the alternation of the two. It is clear that Tri Quang and his followers very much wanted trouble, preferably with the maximum amount of bloodshed.

From this chaos, who might emerge to replace or buttress the Ngo Dinh dynasty? Of many possible groups, those linked with the names of two senior generals, Duong Van Minh and Tran Van Don, command the most respect. "Big Minh," as Duong Van Minh is known, has the closest relations with U.S. senior officers and is highly regarded. Don, who was arrested briefly after an attempted coup in 1960, is commander of the army, but like Minh he lacks actual control of the forces. As corps commander, however, he is thought to be able to rally widespread popular support of his troops. Any of a number of civilian figures in exile, in jail, or lying in wait might be competent to head a government of national union; but it is generally agreed that if South Vietnam is to present a united front against the Viet Cong, the leadership of the nation will have to be predominantly military.

Fixing the Score in '64

ED PLANER

NEW ORLEANS

A NUMBER of Southern politicians have been dreaming the same dream recently: It is December, 1964, and the Electoral College is preparing to cast its votes for President of the United States. Neither the Democratic nominee nor the Republican has enough votes to reach the required number of 268. The balance of votes is held by several Southern states whose electors are not pledged to the candidates of either party.

At this point, two endings have been suggested, both happy ones as far as Southern dreamers are concerned. In one version, the candidates or their spokesmen make all sorts of concessions to the Southern electors in order to gain their votes. No more Negroes will be admitted to the Universities of Mississippi or Alabama. Louisiana will be granted all its claims to the oil-rich tidelands. A Court of the Union composed of state supreme court justices will be established to supersede the U.S. Supreme Court. The list is endless. In another version, the unpledged electors decide to throw the election into the House of Representatives, where in January, 1965, with each state casting one vote, a majority of states choose Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia or Governor George Wallace of Alabama as the next President of the United States.

Although the dream sounds fantastic, a determined band of states' righters and segregationists are working hard to make it come true. Chief among them are Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Leander

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Perez, boss of the Louisiana bayous and one of the founders of the Dixiecrat party in 1948. Earlier this year, Barnett got a special session of the Mississippi legislature to pass a law practically guaranteeing that Mississippi's seven electoral votes will be unpledged. Under the new law, Mississippi voters will go to the polls in September, 1964, to determine which slate of electors they wish to appear under the Democratic emblem in the November general election. One slate would be pledged to the party nominee, presumably John F. Kennedy. Anti-Kennedy slates could be pledged to Barnett, Senator Eastland, Governor Wallace, or simply listed as unpledged. "If we conservatives win," Barnett has said—and he would seem to have reason for optimism—"Kennedy just won't be on the ballot in Mississippi."

In order to get a slate of loyal Democratic electors on the general-election ballot, one thousand qualified voters would have to sign a petition for each of the seven electors. Even then, these electors would appear on the ballot without party designation. The electors appearing under the Democratic emblem would, of course, actually be opposed to the Democratic nominee.

So far, Barnett and his co-workers feel sure of Mississippi's seven electoral votes and ten from Alabama, where electors can also be unpledged. In 1960, six of Alabama's electors voted for Byrd, five for Kennedy. In 1964, with one less vote in the Electoral College but at least two Negroes in the University of Alabama, all ten of Alabama's electors may very well be anti-Kennedy. With a foundation of seventeen electoral votes, Barnett, Perez, and others, including George Shannon, the outspokenly segregationist editor of the Shreveport *Journal,* are trying to whip up support throughout the South for the unpledged-electors plan.

Under present Louisiana law, electors are designated by the parties' state central committees. In 1960, the Perez faction came within two votes of getting unpledged electors placed under the Democratic emblem. During the last session of the Louisiana legislature, it got a bill introduced to set up a Presidential electors' primary in July, 1964, at the same time as the state's Congressional primaries. Under this arrangement, voters might well find themselves choosing Presidential electors before either party held its national convention. If the unpledged electors won in the Democratic primary, their names would appear under the party emblem in the general election. For a slate of Kennedy electors to get on the November ballot, one thousand independent voters would have to sign a petition requesting it. Independent voters were defined as persons not affiliated with any political party. That may seem reasonable enough,

but according to the latest statistics, less than four thousand persons would qualify as independents in the whole state. And for good measure, the bill specified that the names of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates would not appear on the ballot in November.

The measure passed the lower house 57-44. As the bill headed for the state senate, where the vote was expected to be extremely close, the Kennedy administration decided it was time to bring the dreamers back to reality. Senator Russell Long flew down from Washington to make his views known in Baton Rouge. The former mayor of New Orleans, deLesseps Morrison, ambassador to the Organization of American States, arrived on the scene. Five members of the Louisiana Congressional delegation, headed by the Majority Whip, Hale Boggs, issued a statement in which they condemned the bill.

Supporters of the measure argued that it would place Louisiana in a powerful bargaining position. "You pass this bill and the Presidential plane will be flying down here tomorrow to talk about tidelands," Senator Wendell Harris of Baton Rouge argued. Senator E. W. Gravolet, who represents the Perez districts in the state senate, declared: "We've been kicked around too long by the bloc-vote-dominated national party. Let's pass this bill and join with other Southern states and support somebody who won't use the South as a whipping boy."

The measure was defeated by the narrowest of margins, 20-18, but sponsors have already announced that they plan to make the issue a major one in the state's gubernatorial race later this year and the Congressional races next year. According to George Shannon of the Shreveport *Journal,* who serves on a citizens' group called the Committee for Free Electors for Louisiana, "We are going to work for the election of a governor who not only will support free electors himself but who will campaign for candidates for other public offices who believe in free electors."

The effort to export the idea to other Southern states is also continuing. Barnett and Perez claim that they will be able to count on a minimum of forty-seven unpledged electoral votes: seventeen from Alabama and Mississippi, ten from Louisiana, eight from South Carolina, where an unpledged-electors bill will be voted on in next year's legislature, and twelve from Virginia. Florida is listed as doubtful, and Georgia is now listed as "renegade." Subtracting forty-seven from the total of 535 votes in the next Electoral College, the backers of the plan calculate that neither President Kennedy nor the Republican nominee will be able to secure the needed 268.

And so the dream continues: It is December, 1964, and the Electoral College is preparing to cast its votes for President of the United States . . .

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The Life and Times Of Tony Pro

ROBERT S. GALLAGHER and RONALD SEMPLE

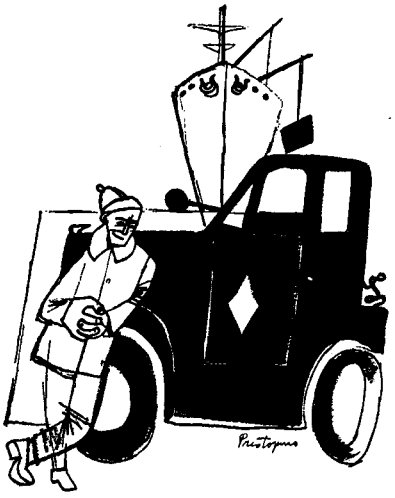
UNION CITY, NEW JERSEY

THERE was little in Anthony "Tony Pro" Provenzano's past to prepare him for the battle now raging between U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Teamsters President James Riddle Hoffa. In the tough sidewalk world of New York's Lower East Side, where Provenzano was born forty-six years ago of Sicilian immigrant parents, he had learned that the politician was a friend, not a foe. The friendship of the politician was easily bought by the really important men in the neighborhood, who knew and demonstrated that muscle earned money and respect. Brains, initiative, and raw courage were the ingredients of success along Monroe Street. And these were the lessons young Provenzano took with him in 1934 when he dropped out of P.S. 114 to drive a truck at ten dollars a week.

His relationship with the politicians he dealt with on his ascent to the twelfth vice-presidency of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America was a reflection of his early training and experience. He numbered many politicos among his allies. He could depend upon them for aid and influence, and in turn he supported them generously. He had nothing to fear from politicians until 1959, when he had his first bitter encounter with the tenacious counsel to the Senate's McClellan Committee, Robert Kennedy. It was a hard lesson for Provenzano, who pleaded the Fifth Amendment forty-four times. The hearings, which culminated in the passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act, touched off the events leading to Provenzano's indictment and subsequent conviction on June 11 of this year for extorting $17,100 from a local trucking firm. Should his appeal fail, Provenzano will serve seven years in prison and pay a ten-thousand-dollar fine.

Provenzano doesn't believe he will go to prison. "Thank God for the appellate courts in this country," he says. But whether or not Provenzano goes to jail, he faces other problems that will test the raw courage, initiative, and brains of one who has risen from humble beginnings to be an international vice-president of the Teamsters, a trustee of the powerful Eastern Conference of the union, president of New Jersey's Teamsters Joint Council 73, and the absolute ruler of Local 560, the third largest (13,000) Teamster local.

PROVENZANO insists he spends hours in meditation. His favorite spot is atop the former bank building purchased by Local 560 for its headquarters. There, on the roof, is a massive coop to house Tony Pro's racing pigeons, the feathered symbols of a less complicated youth on the East Side. The birds help Provenzano forget his various troubles: a pending Federal trial for bribery; a suit by the U.S. Department of Labor challenging Local 560's election last December; the local's insurgent United Ticket, which nearly succeeded in retiring Provenzano in that election and prompted the ballot litigation; the murder of a young shop steward; the unsolved disappearance of the local's secretary-treasurer; the constant presence of Federal agents; the local's growing financial troubles; the desertion of his political allies; and, most important, the reaction to all this of his friend and boss, Hoffa, whose sense of loyalty to his friends is eclipsed only by his stronger sense of survival.



Democrat Provenzano seems puzzled by the zeal the Attorney General and his subordinates display in their efforts, which, according to the Department of Justice, have led to 199 indictments and eighty-five convictions of Teamsters and their associates since the advent of the New Frontier. But he knows at first hand the tenacity of Robert Kennedy's Justice Department, whose agents have questioned Provenzano's friends, neighbors, and, he claims, his children in an exhaustive study of his life and works. At the local's headquarters, a records investigation is continued daily by the Labor Department's Thomas Gilmartin, who spends his evenings explaining the intricacies of the Landrum-Griffin Act at St. Peter's Institute of Industrial Relations in Jersey City. (The Institute's student body numbers most of the United Ticket's leaders.) Also nearby is Internal Revenue Agent Geoffrey Cheasty, whose brother, John Cye Cheasty, was the key witness in the government's abortive attempt to convict Hoffa of bribery in July, 1957.

Provenzano's extortion conviction by a Federal jury in Newark genuinely shocked the Local 560 leader, who last year was acquitted of a similar charge in neighboring Hudson County. He still faces a bribery charge of accepting his $27,000 Clifton, New Jersey, home as a gift from another New Jersey trucking executive. The jury's decision also surprised many veteran courthouse observers who held little affection for

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Provenzano but thought the government's case weak. They had predicted that the cherished judicial concept of reasonable doubt would save Provenzano. It did not. Teamster attorneys from the local to the international level used the jury's decision to reiterate their belief that a prejudicial campaign is being waged from Washington to condition both press and public against the Teamsters, thus all but eliminating their clients' right to take advantage of reasonable doubt, even though they have managed to win more cases than they have lost.

The Glockner Myth

Washington, however, was not the dateline on the publicity explosion that occurred May 24, the third day of the trial, when a truck driver was murdered ten miles away in Hoboken. The police of that brawling waterfront city had no trouble identifying the twenty-seven-year-old man found sprawled on a sidewalk with three bullets in his back. A month before, they had questioned Walter Herman Glockner, Jr., about his role in the cue-stick beating of another citizen. It was the latest entry in a bulky police dossier dating back to 1954, when he helped beat up an off-duty policeman. At that time Glockner had been AWOL from the Marine Corps, which he had joined after quitting high school. He was then thrown out of the Marines with an undesirable discharge.

It was more difficult to recognize Glockner in the portrait in *Life* two weeks after his death. "His family called him Sonny; his friends knew him as Hans," the magazine reported. "He graduated from high school in Hoboken, served in the Marines and married his boyhood sweetheart." This wholesome approach was unspoiled by any mention of his police record, his loansharking activities, or his tainted military record. Instead *Life* justified devoting seven pages to the murder by blandly announcing that Glockner was "the leader of a reform group" within Local 560 and printing opposing photographs of a weeping graveside widow and a chortling Provenzano, who has instructed his lawyers to start what he terms a "suitcase" against the magazine for eleven million dollars.

Life merely completed the public canonization of Glockner that began immediately after his death, when the afternoon newspapers described him as a "Provenzano foe." This initial description was magnified edition by edition, broadcast by broadcast, to "bitter foe," "outspoken foe," "martyred Teamster," "key member of the United Ticket," and the like, until *Life* ultimately elevated him to "the leader" of the anti-Provenzano forces. His certification as "a victim of the struggle for clean unionism" was provided the day after the murder, when government attorneys handling the Provenzano trial announced that Glockner, who was a shop steward at the truck terminal involved, was to have been questioned the next week. No one explained why Federal officials had not talked to Glockner during the two years of pre-trial investigation.

No official at the local, state, or Federal level attempted to arrest the growth of the Glockner myth. Some even encouraged it. The normally tight-lipped Hudson County prosecutor, for example, was reluctant to reveal the slain man's police involvements, plus his "limited loansharking" activities. He insisted that the information had no bearing on the case and asked that it remain unpublished for "the sake of the family." He also stated, without prompting from the reporters and *Life* representatives present, that Glockner had been "honorably" discharged from the Marines.

The myth of Glockner's importance to the United Ticket vanishes with the statement of the insurgent leader, George Phillips, who reduces Glockner's role in the bitter December election to that of an active "sympathizer." Moreover Phillips, who claims to have been severely beaten twice in the past by Provenzano enthusiasts, holds that the slaying was not a "union killing." Phillips's feelings were never publicized, even though most reporters assigned to the Glockner case began to suspect within a few days that the role of the slain man in the anti-Provenzano movement had been exaggerated. Some tried unsuccessfully to alert their superiors, who had started linking the coverage of the murder with that of the extortion trial. Their apparent unconcern about putting Glockner, the murder, and the trial into perspective added weight to the brotherhood's charge of mass conditioning. Weeks later Hoffa put it succinctly when he was asked if the press was still giving him trouble. "I never have any trouble with the working press," he replied. "But these rewrite men and editors who never get out to see what's happening . . . well, I get hell from them all the way."

THE IMPACT of the Glockner murder on the extortion trial was immediate. The defense asked for a mistrial. The prosecution renewed its request for a sequestered jury, which was granted. Provenzano now argues that the murder led to his conviction. Government sources close to the trial maintain that the murder forced the judge to approve the sequestering motion, thereby removing the jurors from outside "influences." As for the possibility of the jury's hearing about the slain Teamster, they point out that the sequestering was under the expert supervision of Deputy U.S. Marshal J. M. Jordan of Indiana, who was dispatched by Washington to New Jersey. Jordan had performed similar duty during Hoffa's recent Nashville trial, which resulted in an indictment against the Teamster boss for jury tampering.

The jury's decision to convict Provenzano was basically a choice between the word of Provenzano and that of trucking executive Walter Dorn. A nervous, reluctant witness, Dorn testified only after receiving a safe-conduct writ to enter New Jersey without fear of prosecution. He said he had given Provenzano $1,500 in 1952 to buy labor peace at a new trucking terminal and then made monthly payments of $200 for six and a half years to maintain it. He swore he gave the monthly payments to Michael Communale, then an assistant Hudson County prosecutor, a figure in the local Democratic Party, and a friend of Provenzano's. Since the statute of limitations had run out on whatever happened in 1952, the jury had to decide whether Communale passed the money on to Provenzano. Communale, who was fired as assistant prosecutor after his appearance before the McClellan Com-

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mittee in 1959, said he did not pass the money on to Provenzano. He claimed that the $200 monthly payment was a retainer for his legal services, which he conceded were limited. Pressed by the prosecution, Communale said that he had once checked "superficially" on whether a proposed trucking tax would be passed by the New Jersey legislature.

Provenzano denied receiving any money from either Communale or Dorn. His appearance as a witness may not have done him much good, although he would be recognized immediately as an important man back on Monroe Street in the Lower East Side. His flashy silk suits are expensive, his linen immaculate. A diamond sparkles on the little finger of his manicured left hand. His short, squat body still boasts more muscle than fat. But his face, unless graced by a smile, can be a masterpiece of malevolence. His eyes are hooded by drooping lids, and his mouth often contorts into a sneer. During the trial he had several arguments from the witness stand with his attorney, and spent the recesses regaling the press by giving daily odds on his acquittal. He obviously charmed the reporters more than the jurors. They believed Dorn.

Attorney General Kennedy, of course, had taken a personal interest in the case from the beginning. During the trial he called his attorneys frequently to learn how it was going. What was said then is not known, but Kennedy did telephone his warm congratulations when Provenzano was convicted. His praise was duly reported. However, it would be foolish to exaggerate either the importance of Provenzano to the Teamsters or the significance of his conviction in the Justice Department's drive against Hoffa. To describe Tony Pro as the Number 2 man in the Teamsters, as United Press International did during the trial, is to seriously overestimate him. And to suggest that Provenzano's downfall would be a prelude to Hoffa's is to vastly underestimate Hoffa.

During its deliberations the jury did wonder aloud once about the absence of one Anthony Castellito, whose name appeared several times in Provenzano's testimony. Both the prosecution and the defense agreed that he was not available. Castellito has not been available since the night of June 5, 1961, when the popular secretary-treasurer left Local 560 headquarters and drove off in his brown Cadillac into the missing persons files. Few believe that either Castellito or the car will ever turn up again. Castellito, whose police record dates back to Prohibition, had also sought refuge behind the Fifth Amendment before the McClellan Committee in 1959. The United Ticket's George Phillips hints that Castellito was numbered high among Provenzano's intra-union opponents.

Pro and Cons

Even without Castellito, whose son has become a standard-bearer in the United Ticket movement, Provenzano has formidable troubles within Local 560, which he has headed since 1958 and controlled since the death that August of John J. Conlin, founder and ruler of the local. Several months after Conlin's death, Provenzano soundly defeated an insurgent election challenge, despite his "coincidental" Federal indictment for extortion two weeks before the polls opened. The balloting was marked by violence, including shotgun blasts into the house where the insurgents were conducting an election-eve session. Provenzano's opponents reorganized as the United Ticket and spent the next three years marshaling their workers and arguments. With a little more than half the membership voting last December, Provenzano was re-elected by a majority of 577, hardly a reassuring vote of confidence for the leader of a Teamster local with one of the best contracts in the nation.

Local 560 truckers earn from $6,000 to $10,000 a year, depending on their particular job, the steadiness of the work, and the amount of overtime. Most average about $7,000 annually in the tractor-trailer and switchers classifications. Sick Teamsters draw $65 a week for a maximum of twelve months, and the medical and dental plans extend to their immediate families. A driver with twenty years' service can retire at fifty-seven with a $200 monthly pension. Death benefits start at $5,000. (Mrs. Glockner received a double-indemnity payment of $10,000, since the union ruled that her husband's death was accidental.) Other fringe benefits include free eyeglasses for members and full college scholarships each year to four children of Local 560 members.

Since individual Teamsters are usually more concerned about salaries, fringe benefits, and job protection than the character of their officers and agents, the growing intra-union opposition to Provenzano indicates more deep-seated problems. Whatever the excellence of its provisions, a labor contract is only as good as its enforcement. About four hundred terminals are covered by Local 560, and some Teamsters claim that their terminals haven't been visited by a business agent in three years. Provenzano denies this, but it remains a source of rank-and-file friction. Perhaps the explanation of the discontent is to be found in the rather arbitrary way Provenzano manages his huge local. Provenzano's whim often becomes Local 560 policy. And often his whim leans toward nepotism and the unsavory associations Robert Kennedy had in mind when he spoke of Provenzano's "underworld connections." After his close reelection last December, Provenzano allowed the local—or at least the several hundred members who attended the meeting—to vote him a pay increase from $19,500 to $44,500. (He draws an additional $18,000 a year from his other Teamster posts.) But apparently a stronger gesture of confidence was needed. Several weeks later he was voted another $50,000

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annually, which brought his total remuneration to $112,500, more than Hoffa's or even that of the Attorney General's elder brother. Provenzano then hired his brother Nunzio and a Salvatore Brugiglio as business agents at $18,500. Both have been convicted of arranging a "sweetheart" contract for a New York City employer. Another Provenzano brother, Salvatore, is also one of Local 560's business agents.

Provenzano rejected the $50,000 raise at first and said he had not made up his mind on the $25,000 one. Now he says that he has not rejected either, an indication that his personal legal expenses have been heavy. Moreover, the cost of defending the local against the legal actions brought by the United Ticket and the Federal government under the Landrum-Griffin Act has exceeded $300,000 since 1960 and threatens to spiral more as the pressure increases. With the addition of the lucrative salaries of the local's officers and numerous agents (which the United Ticket's opponents state are a greater incentive to the United Ticket leaders than the cause of clean unionism), the local's fiscal situation is rapidly nearing the point where Provenzano may be forced to increase the $5 monthly dues substantially. Since the Landrum-Griffin Act requires a secret ballot on any revision of dues, this could be a moment of ultimate peril for Provenzano, not only in Local 560 but in his relations with the head of the Teamsters.

The Limits of Friendship

Hoffa has always been a good friend of Provenzano's. It is said by some—but denied by Provenzano—that the friendship ripened in the days when Hoffa was making his bid to take control of the 1.4-million-member International Brotherhood. He enjoyed the support of both the Midwestern and Western Conferences but not that of the Eastern, which is the largest. Provenzano, though a relatively unknown business agent at the time, had valuable contacts in the Eastern Conference. He reportedly introduced Hoffa to some of its leaders, including one who controlled a ream of "paper locals" in New York City. Paper locals are important in Teamster politics because they vote as units, without concern for the reactions of their members, if any.

The accuracy of this description of the beginning of the Hoffa-Provenzano friendship is not too important. By 1960, they were close friends. It was then that the ill-fated Board of Monitors, which was put in charge of the Teamsters following the 1959 revelations, ordered Hoffa to purge Provenzano and two others from Teamster officialdom. Hoffa replied by promoting Provenzano to an international vice-presidency. But increased opposition to Provenzano over financial problems and charges of mismanagement might strain this friendship.

An episode in Philadelphia this spring cannot be of much comfort to Provenzano. Raymond J. Cohen, an international trustee, was the boss of Philadelphia's big Teamsters Local 107 until charges of mismanagement resulted in a serious movement to pull the local out of the Teamsters altogether. The rebel Voice of the Teamsters, a group backed by several AFL-CIO unions, proved a formidable threat. Hoffa quickly threw himself into the Philadelphia contest, and it was he, not Cohen, who succeeded in beating down the revolt. Then, while offering amnesty to Teamster rebels who might see the error of their ways, Hoffa cut Cohen's salary and effected some instant reforms within the local's administration. At the moment of victory, Cohen received no medal. Instead he was virtually cashiered.

The Cohen incident seems to contradict the post-trial predictions that Provenzano's fall from power would, as the New York *Times* put it, "be a major setback" for Hoffa. Indeed, Hoffa might find the Local 560 situation easier to deal with. The United Ticket, which finds its unity in its opposition to Provenzano, entertains no such radical ideas as did the Voice group. There is even evidence that some of the insurgents have made informal attempts at a *rapprochement* with the international. The departure of Tony Provenzano might not make as much difference to the truckers of New Jersey as some of the more enthusiastic editorial writers have optimistically predicted.

Hoffa reportedly rejected the insurgents' offer. But negotiations can always be reopened if the local's deficit spending, as indicated by financial reports filed with the Labor Department, forces Hoffa into immediate direct action. Many do not believe that Hoffa would risk disapproval of other large locals' leaders by partitioning Provenzano's barony. However, such a move might also serve as a warning to others to avoid hazards like those which snared Provenzano. At any rate, the Attorney General would surely be mistaken to overestimate either Hoffa's loyalty to his old friends or his dependence on them.

On the other hand, many months of legal appeals still separate Provenzano from a Federal prison cell. And he is confident that the local's attorney, David Friedland, will succeed in turning back the Labor Department's assault on the December election and simultaneously compel the government to reveal the extent and cost of its investigation of Local 560.

PROVENZANO, whose rapid rise in the Teamster hierarchy paralleled Hoffa's, denies vehemently that his boss had anything to do with his local election or has any say in its current opposition. This is less than accurate. A local Teamster leader without a friend in the international's hierarchy is highly vulnerable. He might, say, find himself cut off from the brotherhood's financial largesse, such as the huge political slush-fund grants that do not have to be accounted for. Or he might find a petition submitted to the international by some of his own members, asking that his local be split up into smaller units. Should this happen, then Local 84, the five-hundred-man unit Provenzano reactivated last year during the United Ticket uprising as a possible refuge, could become his Elba.

Hoffa must have the support of a strong, united international if he is to withstand the onslaughts of Robert Kennedy. He will do what is necessary in order to survive, and anyone from the Lower East Side knows that it is sometimes necessary for a friend to get rough when the organization is threatened. Provenzano understands full well the dangers of becoming expendable.

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The Competition For Africa's Students

DAVID HAPGOOD

"YOU ARE the corruptors, and we're the ones you're corrupting," an African student at the University of Dakar, in Senegal, remarked to a foreigner. The student had just listed the many countries—West, East, and in between—from which he was sure he could get full scholarships, though he admitted that he was doing little studying in Dakar. "I'm just pretending to be a student here," he said, "and all these countries are willing to pay me to go on pretending."

In the competition for influence in postcolonial Africa, the great powers have concentrated on university students on the apparent assumption that, in small states ruled by tiny educated elites, a few dozen university graduates may equal a vote in the United Nations. Everyone, including the students themselves, assumes that today's students are tomorrow's cabinet ministers. So a great power, by offering students an education in which they learn the advantages of that power's way of life, has a chance to pick up an African client-state at a bargain price. Whatever its eventual effect on Africa's allegiances, and despite the frequent good intentions of host educators, evidence is beginning to pile up that this sort of education may be doing Africa itself more harm than good.

SINCE the demand for African students seems to be outrunning the supply, it is now remarkably easy for an African who has a secondary-school education to get an all-expenses-paid scholarship to study abroad or at a foreign-financed university in Africa. Often he can pick and choose between the ideologies courting him. He has his choice among the African-American Institute's recruiting efforts for the United States, the Soviet embassy's offer to send him to Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow, and bids to universities in Britain or France. If these nations do not take him, he can find plenty of offers elsewhere—in China, West or East Germany, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Egypt, or Israel. He may leave without knowing where he's going, like the group of young Kenyans who set off from Nairobi last fall on orders from their political party. Only when they reached Cairo, after a lengthy trip overland, did they learn that they were going to the University of Belgrade.

If the student happens to be a particularly good prospect, the courting can reach extremes. In Dakar the United States embassy outbid Lumumba U. for a youth from neighboring Portuguese Guinea, which at the time had just four African university graduates. When the youth decided on a full four-year scholarship in the United States, the embassy bundled him onto the next plane before pro-Communists could talk him out of his decision. It was, the embassy felt, a victory for American foreign policy, and the man from Lumumba U. was presumably as disappointed as the embassy was pleased. The student told me he realized that whichever direction he went, he was going as a political pawn rather than a student.

Just what political dividends the United States and the Soviet Union will eventually collect from their investments in African students is by no means certain. France clings to its educational presence in such countries as Guinea and Mali, and Guinea's recent friendliness to France, after four years of hostility, is taken as evidence in support of the French policy. "After all, we *know* the French," Guineans said. On the other hand, as President Léopold Senghor of Senegal observed, students who go to the West tend to come back anti-western, and students who go to the East tend to come back anti-Communist.

If the African student is unhappy abroad, as he often is, he is apt to come home resenting the host nation and its ideology. Many an African has switched from one side of the Iron Curtain to the other during his university career, and the new host nation promptly trumpets his defection as an ideological triumph. Usually the student has left because he doesn't like the food or the climate, or is failing his courses, or is lonely, or just because a friend has told him the grass is greener on the other side of the Curtain. (The student knows better, of course, than to give these reasons for his switch.) President Hamani Diori of Niger said of students playing the cold-war game: "They know that when you are with the Russians, you must speak of colonialism, reactionaries, etc., . . . and the Russians will applaud. When you are with the westerners, you must say that liberty does not exist over there in the East and man has become a robot."

Racism in Reverse

The African students who left Sofia last winter after clashes with the Bulgarian students and authorities told delighted western newsmen that they had been subjected to political indoctrination and had been victims of racism on the part of Bulgarian students. ("Racism" is cited both by Africans leaving Moscow for the West and by Africans leaving the West for Moscow.) The United States eagerly seized on the Sofia story as proving that Communists can be racists too. In the months after the incident, United States Information Service offices in Africa were under urgent instructions to publicize films of the defecting Sofia students as widely as possible.

The truth about the situation in Sofia—and it applies to many of the troubles African students have abroad—was more complex. The African students were indeed the victims of racism, but of a new variety. What the defecting students (with, to my knowledge, only one exception) did not say was that they were given much bigger scholarships than their Bulgarian classmates and were subject to virtually no academic discipline. The Bulgarians saw that the Africans could loaf while they had to work to stay in the university, and they saw nattily dressed Africans taking Bul-

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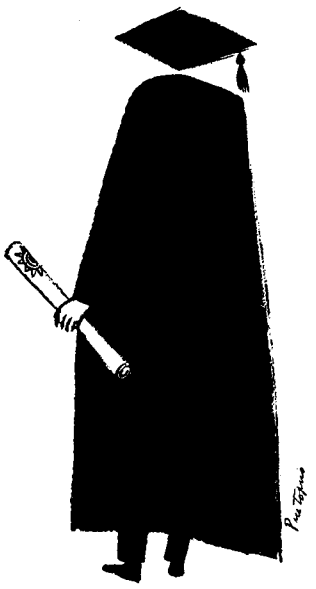
garian girls to cafés that the Bulgarians could not afford. Naturally there was resentment. The Africans, effectively segregated by their privileges, were the objects of an inverse form of racism.

It is pretty much the same story in Belgrade. Some Africans get twice the Yugoslav worker's wage, four times what the Yugoslav student gets. Though Arab students in Belgrade are even more privileged, the Africans seem to bear the brunt of Yugoslav resentment, perhaps simply because their color makes them more noticeable. There, as in Sofia, the African student is under little academic pressure and need not fear expulsion for poor grades. The University of Belgrade is not a high-priority choice for Africans going abroad, so Yugoslavia does not feel it can afford to alienate Africans by expelling students. Here, as elsewhere, the fear of political consequences puts the African student in a position to blackmail the host government, which does not want him crossing the border with accusations of racism.

It is not only abroad that the African student finds himself in a favored position. In Africa, universities are generally not full and must often shave their requirements to keep the students they have. And scholarships bear no relation to the African standard of living: surrounded by poverty, the African student is frequently better off than a European student at a European institution. At the French-operated University of Dakar, which is little more than half full, the student receives from the French a monthly scholarship of $60, twelve months a year. The students, who come from many countries of West Africa, get an additional subsidy of $20 to $60 monthly from their own governments. This extra sum, which is in effect a bribe to guarantee the student's good behavior, simply adds to the gap between him and his people.

The Gravy Train

Many African students are uneasily aware that they are kept men, and kept by foreigners, often the very foreigners from whom their country recently obtained its independence. Often they take refuge from this reality in defiantly revolutionary verbiage. "We are a revolutionary union!" proclaims the Union of Dakar Students, but the revolution, if it may be called that, is a curious one. Asked about student demands, the president of the Senegalese students at Dakar began by denouncing corruption and conspicuous consumption among his country's officials, then demanded that the scholarships be raised. One grievance he cited was the cost of taking a taxi from the campus to



downtown Dakar, although bus service is available.

In Paris, a young Senegalese sociologist published in *Le Monde* an appeal to African students to help him collect and distribute old clothing for the many African laborers who could be seen shivering in thin clothes during the past harsh winter. "One hour a week for Africa," the Senegalese, Jean-Pierre N'Diaye, asked. Of the 2,500 African students in Paris, exactly one volunteered—and he was a childhood friend of N'Diaye's.

And last year the Senegalese government offered to take a group of students—self-proclaimed leftist critics of the government home on vacation from Paris—for a tour of rural development projects. On the appointed day, not a single student showed up to make a hot and uncomfortable trip in the bush. A Senegalese student told me his version of the story at a café in Paris. "So," he said, "the officials told me, 'You claim to be in the opposition, but you are not serious people.'" The student grinned and shrugged. "I guess he was right." He himself planned to go to New York—where he was going to research a thesis on rural reform in Senegal. He admitted somewhat sheepishly that this was not the best way to approach his subject, but no one objected, and who would pass up a chance to see New York?

The influences of the African's student days often continue, in different form, when he goes home, presumably to use the skills he has acquired for his country's benefit. The palaces, limousines, and luxurious officials' villas in evidence throughout West Africa, and the deterioration of many public services, are melancholy evidence of the behavior of the new ruling class. The returning student knows that there is a Mercedes in his future, that his diploma assures him automatic entry into the privileged elite.

There are, of course, dedicated and incorruptible men among the returning students, as there are in the African civil service. But in the indolent atmosphere of most African government offices—indolence in large part inherited from somnolent colonial administrations—the returning student is under little pressure to produce. Yet it is on him, on the educated elite, that Africa depends to lead the productive revolution it needs. And though his education was free, it is the African budget that must support the European salary he demands.

In their years away from home, living under privileged conditions in a glamorously modern industrial society, many African students become profoundly alienated from their own culture—an alienation that seems almost certain to take place, whatever the intentions of the students themselves or of the African and foreign governments. Speaking of this alienation, a Senegalese official commented: "If neo-colonialism means being dominated by foreign influences, then these students are the most neo-colonial of all Africans."

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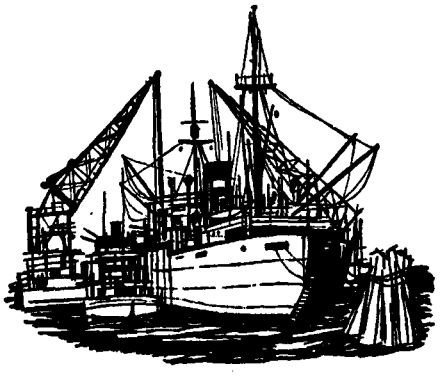

German Reparations And the Israeli Economy

WILLIAM MEHLMAN

TEL AVIV

ELEVEN YEARS have passed since the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, voted adoption of the German Reparations Agreement, amid an atmosphere of street riots and protestations that the government was bartering the sacred memory of six million European Jews. It is ten years since the first installment of the $825 million in German goods that were to flow into Israel arrived at Haifa Port. The agreement that was to run fourteen years is ending its course almost four years ahead of schedule. Though the offices of the Shilumim Corporation, the Israel Reparations Mission to Germany, will formally remain open until 1965, more than ninety per cent of the goods ordered under the agreement have been delivered and the rest are already committed (mainly to fuel purchases), with interim financing arranged by Israel until final payment is received.

The remaining opposition to the principle if not the fact of reparations emanates mainly from the Herut Party, the political embodiment of the old underground groups to whom all things German are anathema. But even outside Herut, the question of whether acceptance of German tractors can be construed as payment or forgiveness for Nazi outrages against European Jewry is troubling in a nation one-fourth of whose citizens must live out their lives with personal memories of the camps and crematoria and the families they left on the ash heaps of the Thousand Year Reich. That such memories have not prevented a hundred thousand Israelis from claiming more than $600 million in personal reparations from Germany, covering everything from stolen property to interrupted educations, does not alter the fact that many thousands more would sooner starve than accept a German pfennig.

THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS against reparations have lost their validity. The fears in 1952 that the Germans would treat the agreement as "a scrap of paper" once a few token payments had been made, that they would use it to foist inferior goods on Israel at exorbitant prices, that acceptance of German equipment would leave Israel helplessly dependent on Germany for services and spare parts, have all proved groundless. The Germans paid up in record time, most of the goods received were of first quality at market or below-market prices, and the agreement, far from reducing Israel to an economic vassal of Germany, opened a trade route, now running at $89.3 million a year, that has made Germany Israel's third largest customer. One reservation to the agreement that seemed plausible in 1952—that a shattered Germany could never make good on an $825-million obligation—proved to be the biggest bubble of them all.

More serious than any of the imagined difficulties in expediting the reparations payments was the problem of setting down the terms of the agreement itself. The Germans, looking toward the revitalization of their industrial plant, insisted that Germany be the sole source of all goods purchased under the pact. It was only the persistent diplomatic prodding of Dr. F. E. Shinnar, head of the Israeli mission, that ultimately persuaded them to permit a special sterling account for the purchase of oil from British firms.

A second conflict arose over the categories of goods that would be made available under the agreement. The German government was under pressure from German industrial interests to define the payments within a narrow range of plant and other capital equipment. Israel sought a broader definition that would include semi-finished goods, building materials, and some consumer items as well as plant equipment. The agreement finally drawn up was the flexible one Israel desired, and here again credit must be given to the diplomatic efforts of Dr. Shinnar. It stipulated five main categories of reparations purchases: capital equipment, including ships and industrial machinery, fifty-seven per cent; ferrous and nonferrous metals, including materials for the manufacture of pipes, eighteen per cent; raw materials, including semi-finished goods, fifteen per cent; agricultural products, four per cent; and services, including shipping, insurance, and administration, six per cent.

The Benefits

One of the effects of reparations was the flexibility they gave the Israeli government in the allocation of other funds received during the payments period. Over the reparations span, Israel sold some $600 million in independence and development bonds and received more than $700 million in transfers from such purely charitable sources as the United Jewish Appeal, United Israel Appeal, Hadassah, and Histadrut, to name a few. In addition to these unilateral payments, since 1954 the government has received, in currency exchange, the bulk of $615 million in personal indemnification

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paid to private Israeli citizens by Germany for loss of life, liberty, health, property, education, and pension benefits as a result of the activities of the Nazi régime. This money, presently flowing into private bank accounts at the rate of $135 million annually, is expected to surpass within the next four years the total payments made under state reparations. While indemnification payments have added to Israel's current inflationary problems, they have also contributed substantially to the country's foreign-currency reserves.

With reparations assuming the burden of industrial development, the government was free to concentrate those outside funds on problems that would otherwise have received only divided attention at best. These included absorption of a million new immigrants (half of them from underdeveloped countries), reclamation of the Negev, inauguration of a national road-building program culminating in the Beersheba-Eilat highway, expansion and modernization of hospitals and medical facilities, refinancing of the national debt, and the purchase of heavy quantities of food and other consumer items. Coming at a time when the country was under the severest pressure, the reparations enabled the government to concentrate its efforts on precisely those areas not covered by the agreement and thus indirectly accelerated the pace of Israel's over-all development during the ten-year period during which they were in force.

THE COMPLETE RECORD of reparations payments and how they were employed would make impressive reading if only for its size and variety. The highlights, as they apply to nine major economic areas, give a fair indication of the total picture:

¶ *Industry:* New or replacement machinery supplied to 1,275 plants presently employing more than 200,000 workers.

¶ *Shipping:* Forty-nine ships built and delivered, including bulk carriers, tankers, mixed cargo vessels, and two passenger liners, for a total tonnage of 466,000 tons, opening markets in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. More than fifty per cent of reparations goods were carried in ships flying the Israeli flag.

¶ *Port Facilities:* Modernization and enlargement of Haifa Port to more than twice its former capacity. Equipment received included a $2-million floating dock (capacity 7,500 tons) to handle ship repairs, a dry dock capable of raising 18,000 tons, a twenty-five-ton-capacity floating crane, fourteen rail-operated mobile cranes, a two-hundred-ton-capacity dredger, and building materials to launch the Israel Shipyards on the River Kishon.

¶ *Transportation*: $11.5 million in new railway equipment, including automatic signaling devices making express trains possible for the first time in Israel, twelve passenger-car sets, 400 freight cars for hauling potash and phosphates from the Negev, rails for the new line to Beersheba and for the replacement of the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem line. Modern aviation equipment was also supplied for the air terminal at Lydda.

¶ *Communications:* More than $6 million in telecommunications equipment, including automatic exchanges for all major cities, a radio telephone hookup to remote settlements, and a ring of Telex stations for Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and Beersheba.

¶ *Power:* Turbogenerators totaling 560,000 kilowatts, a 110-kilovolt high-tension station, power-correcting generators, transformers, and cables. The electric energy supply in Israel since 1953 has increased from 885 million kilowatt-hours to two billion kilowatt-hours.

¶ *Mining:* $3.5 million in equipment for the Timna Copper Works, currently treating 500,000 tons of copper ore annually.

¶ *Housing:* $80 million in construction materials, used in wiping out the "hut cities" of the early 1950's and replacing them with permanent homes for almost a million new immigrants.

¶ *Fuel:* Nine million tons of oil purchased in England under a special sterling account set up by the West German government.

Two Nations on Trial

Dr. Shinnar, the bespectacled former managing director of the newspaper *Ha'aretz,* who expedited the scheduling and placement of reparations orders as head of the Israel Mission in Cologne for ten years, views the experience as a kind of international morality play. "We are both on trial," he said; "the Germans to show how well they could live up to the agreement, the Israelis to show how wisely they could use the funds at their disposal." Shinnar, who held the rank of ambassador plenipotentiary during his residence in Germany, relates that following the signing of the pact in 1952, the Israeli government was besieged with offers of help from international industrial and economic experts and dire warnings from all quarters not to attempt to carry out the agreement with local talent alone. The aid was politely refused and the warnings duly noted, and an all-Israeli team took up residence in Cologne to tackle the $825-million reparations problem.

Whether Israel would have fared any better with the international experts is a question that misses the central point of the whole reparations story, as far as Shinnar is concerened. "The point" he said, "is that we had to show the Germans we could do it on our own and do it well. We had to eradicate the old stereotype of the Jew as a shopkeeper and peddler and replace it with the image of a new breed of Jew, politically independent and capable of building an economically workable state."

Considering the enormity of the task they faced, it is generally agreed that Shinnar and his group did a remarkable job. Certainly the mission ran a tight ship, holding administrative costs to 0.75 per cent of the total while maintaining a staff that at one time numbered as many as three hundred. But some costly mistakes were made. The Israel Steel Works in Acre, built on the assumption that Israel could produce commercially acceptable steel from native ore, swallowed up $30 million in reparations. The ore may have been adequate in King Solomon's time but it falls somewhat short of twentieth-century standards, and steel production at Acre based on imported ore and fuel has been costing Israel $250 a ton—two to three times the price at which it can be bought on the world market.

The government has attempted to rationalize the steelmaking venture as a standby defense installation to

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be used in the event of a war or an embargo on strategic materials. But a steel mill that must depend on imported raw materials to operate can be of little help against an embargo. Israel could have stockpiled a formidable supply of finished steel with the money it has cost to build and operate the Acre plant.

THE END of reparations will unquestionably be felt, especially in the industrial sector, but it will not be a body blow to Israel's economy. The country is now too far advanced to be crippled by any single factor. Besides, the momentum of industrial development that German payments helped establish is now being carried forward at an accelerated pace by foreign investment. In the past three years alone, more than $435 million has poured into Israel in the form of government-approved overseas investment. One of the major attractions the country has held for investors is its 1959 revised Law for the Encouragement of Capital Investments. Among other advantages, it allows overseas firms full repatriation of their profits in their own currency, a double depreciation allowance on their equipment, duty-free importation of raw materials, a twenty-eight per cent ceiling on corporate income taxes for the first five years of profitable operation, and government loans of up to fifty per cent on total capital outlay. This encouragement has been responsible for the entry of such companies as Studebaker, the Chemstrand Division of Monsanto International, E. W. Bliss, Leyland Motors of England, General Tire & Rubber, Miles Chemicals, Revlon, Fairbanks-Whitney, North American Rayon, Deere & Co., and Dayton Rubber.

This march of foreign firms into Israel has been notable for their willingness to ignore the Arab boycott, once a formidable deterrent to relations of any kind with Israel. The reasons are mainly economic. Aside from the incentives offered, overseas companies have found that Israel, with its per capita income of $700 a year, is a better market for their goods than the Arab countries, despite the vast disparity in population. Moreover, they have discovered that the Arabs eventually get around to buying what they need anyway.

Where Arab pressure has been attempted, overseas firms have stood up to it and managed to survive. Conrad Hilton recently informed the Egyptian government that it could buy up his interests in the Cairo Hilton any time it saw fit but that he was going ahead with the construction of his new hotel in Tel Aviv. The Cairo hotel has been the weak sister of the Hilton international family since its inception. Hilton expects to make money in Israel. No one, apparently, wants to repeat the mistake of Renault, which closed an active assembly plant in Israel in quest of the "larger" Arab market. Last year Renault sold a grand total of eight cars in Egypt. Studebaker, which moved in to fill the vacuum left by Renault's departure, is doing a profitable business among the less numerous but more affluent Israelis.

The injection of large doses of foreign investment capital has not yet enabled Israel to overcome a $400-million annual trade deficit, the inflationary effects of a recent currency devaluation, or its difficulties in finding common ground with its biggest customer, the Common Market. It has, however, added to a foreign currency reserve that now totals more than $600 million, which should enable the country to handle the payments now coming due on its independence and development bond issues. During 1963, the government will redeem $24.5 million in independence bonds. Redemptions for 1964 are projected at $44.8 million. Current sales of more than $60 million a year in new development bonds should more than cover future pay-outs. Moreover, if the bondholders continue the present trend of cashing their bonds in Israeli pounds for use on trips to Israel and to convert their matured bonds into Israeli common stock and renewal bonds, future hard-currency outlays may be even smaller than anticipated.

The Common Market Question

Israel's big economic problem is its relations with the Common Market. The Six and the United Kingdom together absorb forty-three per cent of the country's exports, while supplying forty-five per cent of the products it buys. Any hope of reducing the current trade deficit from $400 million to $250 million, as envisioned in the country's new four-year economic program announced in February, 1962, will depend upon Israel's ability to increase exports to Europe by 150 per cent between now and 1966. The prospects for such an increase are not favorable. Three rounds of negotiations in Brussels aimed at agreement on a free-trade list of 150 export items essential to Israel have produced exactly three items—bathing suits, potash, and grapefruit. A Dutch plan that would have permitted a twenty-five per cent tariff reduction on Israeli goods exported to Europe in volume exceeding $250,000 annually, or $100,000 where the volume represented more than fifty per cent of the total export of any single item, has been quietly shelved.

Israel is in no position to hurdle the twenty per cent tariff barrier it will have to face by 1970 unless some arrangement is reached with Europe, nor can it hope to replace its European markets with expanded trade in North and South America, Asia, and Africa. "There is no question of replacement of markets involved here," according to Israel Gal-Edd, deputy director general of the ministry of commerce and industry and permanent member of Israel's negotiating team in Brussels. "Even if our difficulties with Europe were solved tomorrow, we would still have to triple our exports to every single one of these other markets in order to achieve our economic objectives."

THESE are the problems that will test Israel's skills, diplomatic and economic, in the months and years ahead. The reparations payments that saw the nation through the most critical decade of its independence are now part of Israel's past, as some day all such unilateral payments may be. Their termination has brought the country one step closer to the time when it must stand or fall on its own resources. But by being available when they were needed most, these unique voluntary payments by Germans in token expiation of an essentially incalculable debt may well have provided Israel with part of the economic strength it will need to cope with the demands of the future.

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The Day There Was No Money

WILLIAM K. ZINSSER

LAST MARCH 13, if memory serves—and it does—I got up earlier than is my custom and kept an appointment in mid-Manhattan with an elderly bus. It had been hired to take a group of journalists and photographers to the town of Winsted, Connecticut (population 10,000), to cover an experiment which, we were assured, quite correctly, we would not soon forget.

Our co-hosts for the day were the Diners' Club and Columbia Pictures. Each had liberally sprinkled the bus with press agents, and when at last the bus started, after the hour's delay customary at press junkets, we were given a cluster of press releases that outlined the events ahead.

"Winsted has recently passed an ordinance," said one, "banning the use of cash for twenty-four hours on March 13. The experiment—to prove that cash will be obsolete in the near future—will be implemented by the Diners' Club. The Town Council has asked all merchants, including those selling farm tractors, Cadillacs, newspapers and even a shoeshine, to honor only the special credit cards or chits being issued by the Diners' Club for that day. The children will get free fifty-cent junior credit cards valid for pint-sized purchases of candy, ice cream, licorice, etc."

I asked a press agent why Winsted had been chosen. "It averaged out as the typical American town," he said. "Besides, they're eager to build a more positive image. Most people only remember it as the town that was half washed away by floods in 1958. The merchants have been very co-operative."

The day would be climaxed, said another release, by the premiere of a Columbia film, *The Man From the Diners' Club,* starring Danny Kaye, and Kaye would be there "to both exploit the film and make the experiment successful. The 'no-cash' decree provides punishment for violators who dare to attempt to use money." I gathered that Kaye would spend a good part of the day hauling off to jail anybody caught passing legal tender to a local shopkeeper.

In the movie, said still another release, Kaye plays an official of the Diners' Club who receives a credit application from a gangster. The gangster's girl, an ex-stripper named Sugar Pye, "suggests that he get himself a Diners' Club card so that he can use it to charge a plane flight out of the country," all of which results in a "rib-tickling chase."

Augmenting these factual releases were several that stressed the larger meaning of the experiment—a glimpse of the great American tomorrow, when credit would be the currency of the land and nobody would need to carry a lot of bulky old coins and bills.

THUS BRIEFED, we had nothing more to do but survive the four-hour journey—no easy task for the bus or for us. In mid-morning we were given a box lunch that consisted mainly of a box. I looked forward to supplementing this meager meal in a Winsted luncheonette, using the handy credit card which I assumed I would receive when we arrived.

In due time—and seldom has time been more due—we actually did arrive. From the window of the bus Winsted averaged out as a dreary little mill town, made all the drearier by a steady drizzle. Several dozen Winsted folk and two simulated Indians were standing in a huddle in front of the town hall. Clearly they were waiting for somebody, and just as clearly it was not for us.

"They're all waiting for Danny," a press agent told us. Meanwhile we were asked to inspect a nearby pillory that had been erected to punish anyone who might spend cash. Several local idlers were persuaded to enter the pillory long enough to be photographed, and the cameramen dutifully snapped the simulated lawbreakers.

At 12:30 a long black car pulled up. Danny Kaye uncoiled from the back seat, followed by two agents. He looked tired already. Somebody presented him with a giant Diners' Club credit card. After that he posed with the two simulated Indians and several genuine town fathers. The Indians were never explained—evidently they had tried to spend some wampum in a Winsted store that morning. Kaye looked inexpressibly gloomy; his long face lengthened by visible degrees. His agents then hustled him back into the car to begin the day's series of scheduled visits. We got back in the bus and followed along.

OUR FIRST STOP was the Hinsdale Elementary School, where the children were waiting patiently in the cafeteria. At 1:14 the door opened and Kaye came in. For half a minute he had the children to himself and began to talk to them. Then through the door thundered the reporters, photographers, newsreel men, and press agents. Fanning out among the pupils until they caught up with Kaye, they pushed him to a table in a far corner, almost out of sight, brought several children to him, and told him to give each one a miniature Diners' Club card. For a few minutes they took pictures of the presentation, encircling Kaye so completely that none of the assembled kids could see him.

Then they came back into the center of the room, leaving Kaye in the corner, and got some children to stand and wave their miniature Diners' Club cards. The photogra-

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phers shone bright lights into the shining faces of the girls and boys, pressed around them, jostled them into photogenic positions, and shouted their instructions. Movie cameras whirred; still cameras clicked; flash bulbs popped.

This done, the caravan left as abruptly as it had come. Kaye was elbowed out the door by his press agents. The journalistic herd tumbled after, the children sat down, and all was quiet again in the cafeteria. The time was 1:23. In all, the visit took about as long as it takes a tornado to roar through a small Kansas town, and it left the same dazed faces in its wake.

Our next stop was the Gilbert High School. A thousand students were waiting in the auditorium for Kaye, and he went up on the stage to talk to them. The photographers clambered up, too, and feverishly took pictures of him befriending the kids. Kaye sent them back down and called the entire student glee club, two hundred strong, up on the stage, where they all sang and everybody had a good time, especially Kaye, for about fifteen minutes. But the press agents were dismayed. This extra period of rapport was not in their script, and as soon as possible they hauled Kaye down to continue his appointed rounds.

The next stop was Bruno's Supermarket, where Kaye was told to don a butcher's hat and pose for pictures at the meat counter. With food arrayed on every shelf, I became very hungry and tried to buy some cookies. The girl at the checkout counter turned me back because I didn't have a credit card. She wouldn't accept cash.

I asked a press agent what arrangement had been made to give credit cards to us members of the press. He said they had been unable to work that detail out. Meanwhile several photographers tried in vain to buy cigarettes. They were as desperate for a smoke as I was for food, and the press agents thought it was a grand joke—the experiment was going well.

"You know," one of them said, "a man ran out of gas right in front of the service station this morning, but he didn't have a credit card, so they wouldn't give him any."

I left the group to seek food elsewhere. I dropped into Atkins' Candy Kitchen, which was swollen with children buying candy with their Diners' Club chits. For a candy addict, which I happen to be, the store was a paradise. Mr. Atkins' father, who founded it in 1887, was the inventor of ribbon candy, which makes him something of an American pioneer, and the old-fashioned smell of homemade candy still hung gloriously in the air. I begged the present Mr. Atkins to sell me some of his specialties, but when he learned that I had no credit card he refused.

I stopped in Dom's Barber Shop to ask how his customers were paying for their haircuts. "Several came in this morning who didn't have a credit card," he said, "so I told them they could come back and pay me tomorrow." His answer was a tiny beacon of hope. Next I checked the liquor store. Its manager told me that a state law forbids selling liquor on credit. He seemed relieved to be exempt from the prevailing fiction, and I was relieved to find a place where the real world intruded its real laws on Never-Never Land. At least I would be able to get a drink.

But my need for food was even more urgent, though not by much, and I continued my abject search. I failed to get a box of Fig Newtons past the cash register at the A. & P., and I was also refused service by the soda fountain of the Berkshire Pharmacy. Faint and panicky, I staggered into Nick's Diner and ordered a hamburger.

"Do you have a credit card?" the lady asked. I said I didn't. "Then I'm not allowed to sell you anything," she explained. I told her that there was no such law. She was firm. I pleaded. I told her the whole grisly story of the bus ride, of the box lunch, of my bitter defeats in Winsted's other stores. My tale finally touched her feminine pity, and she got me a hamburger and some pie. "But I won't let you pay for them," she said, and she didn't, despite my strenuous efforts. With her kindness she saved a life and lost a dollar. Such was the cost of image-building in Winsted that day.

Out in the street again, I saw Kaye being rushed from store to store. He inspected crafts in a craft shop; he cut hair in a barber shop; he repaired shoes in a shoe shop, staying just long enough to be photographed. The photographers followed him like a swarm of bees, hiding him from the townspeople, who hardly saw him all day. In mid-afternoon he held a press conference, but only the press were allowed in.

Around four, the Winsted *Evening Citizen* came out with a front-page editorial in a black box. "This is an obituary," it said. "Cash died today in Winsted and may eventually die everywhere because it simply didn't keep up with the modern world. . . ." The editorial had a familiar ring, possibly because we had already read it in the press kit that we were given on the bus from New York. The paper also had a long story describing Kaye's tour of the town. At the elementary school, it said, "The popular star cemented his warm relationship with the small fry there as everywhere."

Of course this was not true. Nothing that Kaye did was done for the small or big fry of Winsted, but for photographers whose pictures would appear in the newspapers of other towns. Readers of those papers would assume that Kaye spent a heart-tugging hour with the schoolchildren. Only in those papers, one step removed from reality, would any of the day's events seem real. In Winsted itself the "real" events had no reality whatever. The town and its citizens were simply a giant prop from morning to night.

Here was a whole town wheedled into playing charades in order to improve its image. Human nature, however, was not as easily regulated as the Diners' Club supposed. Although the merchants were glad to co-operate, the townsfolk in general felt that the idea was, as a woman said who overheard my troubles in the diner, "a lot of foolishness."

"It goes against the grain here in New England," she told me. "We don't believe in credit."

By nightfall Kaye looked exhausted. Though the blame was partly his own, as a co-owner of the movie, for agreeing to exploit it in this fashion, he was exploited as much as anybody else—and far more than a man of his gifts deserved. For eight hours I watched Kaye's patient obedience to the thousand trivial demands on his strength and his

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charm, and toward evening I asked if this wasn't possibly the worst day of his professional life.

His answer was honorable. "It's just one of those things that have to be done," he said, "like putting on make-up, which I don't like either. Of course it's ridiculous," he added, "to talk about my relationship to the people of this town, or their relationship to me, or any other relationship. There *is* no relationship. The sole purpose of a day like this is to take pictures."

ANYONE who has been to a civic reception, or to any other event covered by the multitudinous fourth estate, knows what Kaye was talking about. It is one of the eerie facts of modern America that so many events occur solely for the communications industry and have no organic life of their own. They are non-events. Like Sleeping Beauty, they need the electronic kiss of the TV camera or the inky embrace of the rotary press to give them the semblance of breath. The real men and women who attend these occasions might as well be made of cardboard. Not until they are photographed, and their photograph is seen by people who were not there, do they serve the function of real people.

Not long ago I was invited to an official welcome, at the New York City Hall, of a local troupe that had just returned from abroad. Many other citizens also received an invitation, and we gathered expectantly to watch the mayor greet the honored guests. We never saw them. A horde of TV cameramen, TV reporters, newsreel cameramen, radio reporters, newspaper reporters and photographers, pushing around the platform with their unwieldy equipment, screened the ceremony from those who had been invited to see it. We as living observers had no importance—in fact, we didn't exist. Nor, obviously, did any of the participants think that we did. They talked directly into the cameras and microphones, as is the current practice, aware that their natural voices would have no value until borne unnaturally beyond the one room where they were supposedly meant to be heard.

I caught the event that night on a TV newscast. It looked interesting.

A Palace in Sicily

GOUVERNEUR PAULDING

IN Giuseppe di Lampedusa's novel *The Leopard,* history moves, as it did in *War and Peace,* and when the fighting is over, the dynasties changed and the uniforms altered, the loves consummated, the betrayals accomplished, here, as in all great novels, what is left is what was there at the start: a succession of seasons, storm and sunlight, and the serenity that is given those who accept this larger rhythm. The residue of great novels, after the plot has been acted out and indeed forgotten, is often no more than a series of landscapes or interiors—once peopled by agitated figures, calm now in the distance of memory, haunted only by inoffensive and touching ghosts.

Luchino Visconti's sensitive film version of *The Leopard* is a subtle distillation of the novel's drama and wisdom, a collection of the pictures it leaves in the reader's mind. Here are the high, bare Sicilian hills, and far below where one is standing, a procession of carriages winding up the dusty road, as the Prince of Salina (admirably played by Burt Lancaster) drives to his summer residence at Donnafugata. The village notables wait to receive him. Heat. Dust. And now in the village church a *Te Deum,* artlessly intoned, praises God for giving the village so noble a master who lives in so noble a palace around and below which the villagers have built their little houses as if to supply flying buttresses to a cathedral. There is a homecoming dinner for the notables. Angelica (Claudia Cardinale) is back from finishing school in Florence, where they have failed to teach her not to laugh too long and too loud, and Tancredi (Alain Delon), the prince's nephew, stares at her young beauty and her father's money. With these two young people, the major theme of the novel and the film is introduced. For Tancredi will marry Angelica and in her person admit the new middle classes to the closed formal gardens of the nobility. In Sicily this social process, like everything else, took place later than elsewhere in Europe: who knows; perhaps the Sicilian peasant will one day live in a lesser degree of misery.

Tancredi goes off to join Garibaldi's Red Shirts. There is a view of a narrow street in Palermo; a woman, perhaps only a girl, dressed in black, crouches against a wall. A few soldiers, Garibaldians, are retreating down the street, turning to fire, running a few steps, turning again to fire. As they come nearer the camera, they block our view of the girl in black. They turn the corner near us. The firing ceases. The street is now empty and it is not quite possible to make out whether the girl in black is lying in the street or whether she is still crouching there as she was when we first saw her.

Garibaldi crosses to the mainland. The Kingdom of United Italy is proclaimed. At a ball, the Prince of Salina listens to the chatter of the new men of Piedmont as once he listened to the chatter of the old courtiers at the Bourbon court in Naples. Garibaldi has become an embarrassing subject to talk about; Tancredi is proud to be serving in a "regular" army that has a king who promotes and decorates. The ball continues, as interminable in its changing rhythms as the party that concludes *Time Remembered.* It produces the same effect of serenity at last achieved. The prince proceeds through the rooms of the palace, a man of the past who accepts the past and the present and is therefore beyond both. At dawn he walks home alone through the empty Palermitan streets.

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RECORD NOTES

BUD FREEMAN: SOMETHING TENDER. (*United Artists* 14033, *$4.98; stereo* 15033, *$5.98.*)

Lawrence "Bud" Freeman has been a tenor saxophonist for thirty-nine of his fifty-seven years, and yet he still plunges into each performance with unfeigned gusto. His lithe, melodic conception is unmistakably his own, and he refuses to be intimidated by young experimentalists. "Music," he observes benignly, "is neither old-fashioned nor modern. It's either genuinely creative or it is nothing."

In this, his best album in more than a decade, Freeman illustrates his point. Assisted only by two guitars, he improvises with consistent suppleness of line and with a particularly serene, floating quality on ballads. The program includes several light-hearted originals by the leader and his colleagues, but the set's essential charm results from the vintage but neglected popular songs that Freeman revivifies—"Please," "It Must Be True," "Mimi," and "Let's Do It Again." This is jazz which is both tender and virile, witty and relaxed, ordered and passionate. *Something Tender* is likely to be as enduring an expression of the jazz spirit as will have been released all year.

DIZZY GILLESPIE: SOMETHING OLD/SOMETHING NEW. (*Philips* PHM 200-091, *$3.98; stereo* PHS 600-091, *$4.98.*)

Twenty years ago, trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie—along with Charlie Parker and Thelonious Monk—was a daring jazz revolutionary. Now, with "bop" accepted as part of the common jazz language, Gillespie is a member of the Establishment. He still, however, takes chances, and his achievement of respectability has not diminished or diluted his mocking humor and the outsize vitality with which he approaches his music—and his audiences. This recital begins with new versions of some original anthems of the early revolutionary period and ends with recent originals, most of them by the young composer Tom McIntosh.

The major change in Gillespie's playing over the past two decades has been his control of his virtuosity. There is far less indulgence in pyrotechnics and much more concern with the organic development of an improvisatory design. Gillespie's current quintet consists of a crisp, attentive rhythm section and on tenor saxophone James Moody, once a promising apprentice in the modern movement, who slid into limbo for some years but whose current association with Gillespie has spurred him into the most self-assured and substantial playing of his career.

THE BLUES, VOLUMES 1 AND 2. (*Argo* LP 4026, *$3.98, Argo* LP 4027, *$3.98.*)

Like Jewish cantorial music, traditional Negro blues are rapidly losing their indigenous audience. In Negro sections of big cities, older workingmen still patronize the dwindling number of drinking places where graying city blues singers intermittently find work. The young Negro audiences, however, prefer the eclectic, intensely ambitious work of their own contemporaries—singers who influence and are influenced by white rock 'n' rollers and other pop performers. Traces of blues and gospel music remain evident in the newer

generations of Negro entertainers, but they are sometimes as far removed from their wandering predecessors as today's Jewish pop singers are from the cantorial music in *their* family backgrounds.

This two-volume set (the albums are available singly) is an anthology of previously issued single records by bluesmen who do have enough of a public left to enjoy occasionally respectable sales. One singer, Chuck Berry, is somewhat of a ringer in that he is younger than the rest and more attuned to the teen-agers who determine hits. The singing of most of the others, however, ranges instructively through what seem to be the final stages of folk-based Negro blues. The growling and moaning Howlin' Wolf is in a direct line all the way back to the creators of the field hollers three centuries ago. Muddy Waters, with his frequent references to spells and magic roots, evokes the anxious years of transition from brutalized rural living conditions to the confusions and new constrictions of the cities. Ominous-sounding John Lee Hooker dramatizes the insecurities and transitory pleasures of the itinerant blues singer. Other variously urbanized performers reveal further ways in which the city Negro's experience has been shaped into basic, blunt short stories.

CHARLES MINGUS: THE BLACK SAINT AND THE SINNER LADY. (*Impulse* A-35, *$4.98; stereo* AS-35, *$5.98.*)

The volatile Charles Mingus has assembled an eleven-piece band, which often sounds twice as large, in a series of new Mingus compositions. All of them have been influenced by Duke Ellington, particularly in terms of the density and occasional exotic colors of their harmonic texture. At their core, however, all these Mingus pieces are fiercely personal extensions of Mingus's own turbulent body of work. Ellington, partly because of his intimate knowledge of his veteran sidemen, tends to create carefully and often delicately balanced vignettes or concisely impressionistic pictures. Mingus, on the other hand, tries to generate surging, trancelike moods that undulate through explosive climaxes and brooding passages of reflection after each storm. His soloists are given wide freedom of expression within this over-all aura of apocalypse, and they are usually so caught up in the camp-meeting fervor that they are more self-revealing with Mingus than in other musical situations. Alto saxophonist Charles Mariano, for example, indicates a depth of emotion in his playing here that has never been so unsparingly excavated on his other recordings. A sign, incidentally, of our jazz time is the fact that a postscript to Mingus's own explanatory notes is provided by Edmund Pollock, Ph.D., Clinical Psychologist. I suggest that you ignore both exegeses at least until you've listened to the music itself several times.

—NAT HENTOFF

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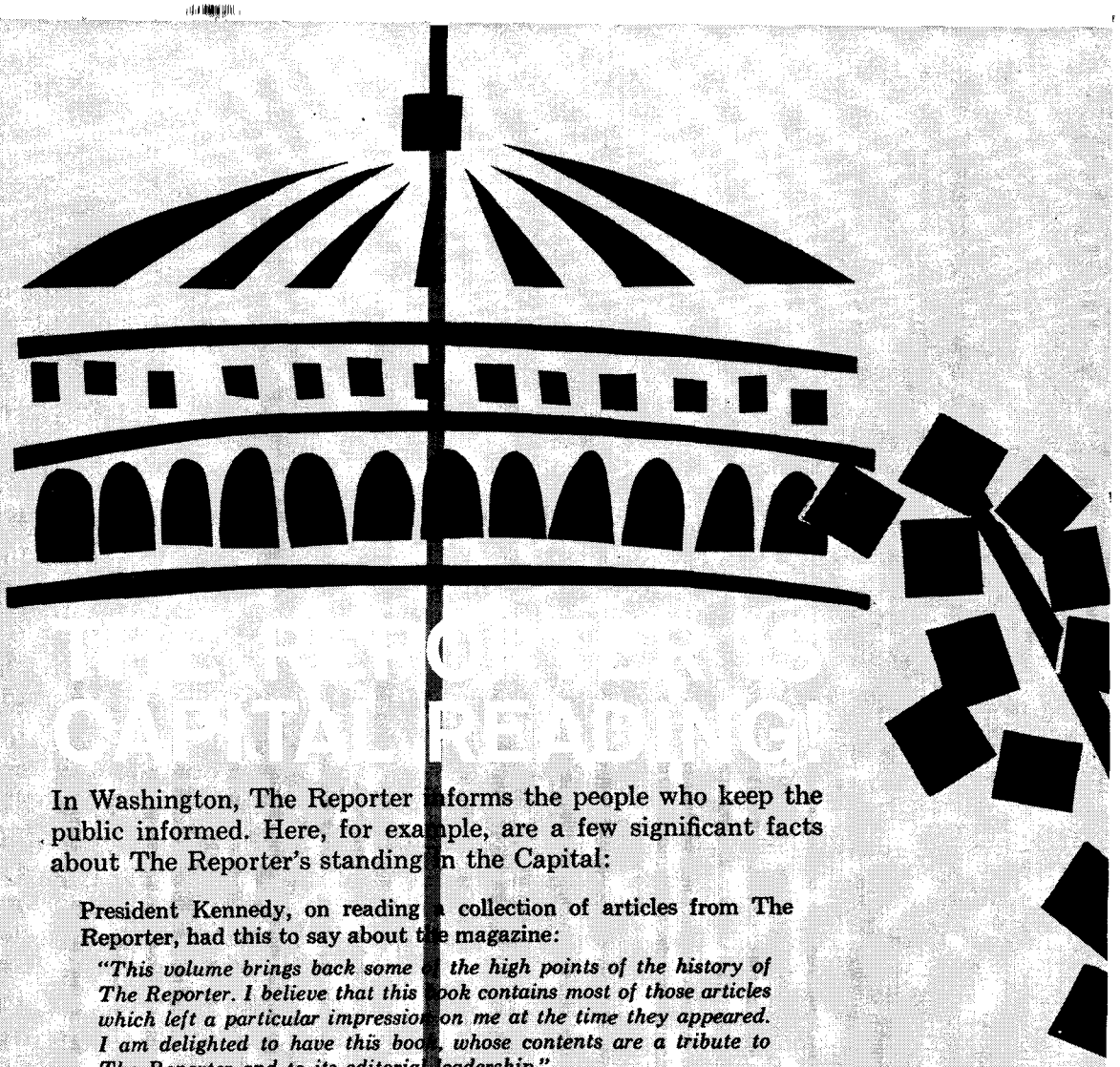

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BOOKS

Of Growth and Gain

ARTHUR F. BURNS

THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC REPUBLIC, by Adolf A. Berle. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $4.50.*

The aim of Adolf Berle's latest volume is to expound the process by which Americans of this generation earn their living. But Berle is more concerned with the business of life than with the life of business, and he is especially concerned with what makes life meaningful and worthwhile. If this philosophic emphasis leads to hasty treatment of some features of the economic process, so too does the technical emphasis of the standard economic treatise. The singular merit of Berle's brilliant little volume is that it shows how ethical values and political action have shaped and informed our economy.

It is a plain fact that free markets no longer dominate economic life as they did in the nineteenth century. More than twelve million individuals are now working directly for government—Federal, state, or local. Many others work in private firms that produce exclusively or mainly for the government. The prices charged by these enterprises are not set in free markets. They are commonly arranged by negotiation among experts, and they are sometimes determined years after the product has been delivered. The government controls the prices charged by railroads, airlines, pipelines, light and power companies, and even many motor carriers. It dominates the price-making process in agriculture. It controls the supply of petroleum by setting quotas on production and imports. It influences the supply of many other products by tariffs, subsidies, and its own stockpiling. It fixes minimum wages and intervenes in the collective-bargaining process. It fixes the price of gold and thus controls the foreign exchanges. It sets a ceiling on some interest rates, insures many private loans, and even engages in direct lending. It compels people to save for their old age and other contingencies on a collective principle. It uses the tax laws to encourage home-ownership, good health, and philanthropy. It regulates the free market itself by stern anti-trust laws. And it uses its vast powers over the supply of money, the cost and availability of credit, the level of taxes, and the rate and direction of its own expenditures, to promote a high level of over-all production and employment.

THE RANGE and extension of governmental activity occupy much of Berle's volume. Yet he also recognizes the large and continuing role of the free market. If one person out of every six now works for government, the other five work for themselves or for employers of their own choosing. If the government fixes prices, it rarely fixes costs at the same time. Even in closely regulated sectors of the economy, there is still elbow room for the ingenuity of private enterprise, as farmers and others have repeatedly demonstrated by outsmarting their regulators. Berle is well aware of the dynamism of free markets, of their capacity to foster initiative, to mobilize industrial energy, and to allocate resources efficiently. Indeed, he repeatedly stresses the need for governmental vigilance to curb monopolistic tendencies, so that markets may remain reasonably free.

But Berle also believes that restriction of the scope of free markets has been necessary in our times to protect and enhance human values. He points out with great emphasis that the expansion of governmental activity has been achieved by a democratic process. When the pursuit of private gain results in hardships, injustice, or abuse of power, Americans can turn to the government for redress. Since the Great Depression, they have done so with great frequency. Indeed, much of the structure of the "American Economic Republic" is a product of the 1930's. Berle expects governmental intervention in economic matters to be extended in coming years, partly because of the need to curb excessive aggregations of private power, partly also because large gains in human welfare may be achieved by expanding noncommercial pursuits. The latter reason is linked by Berle to an intriguing theory of the "transcendental margin," the essence of which is that economic growth is accelerated when a nation insistently pursues ends that transcend personal gain.

BERLE'S VISION of the future raises numerous questions that need to be pondered by Americans. May not our government, in the process of adding to its economic functions, gain excessive power over the lives of individuals? May not the shrinkage of the free market also impair the efficiency of the economy? Is not plenty of evidence already at hand that the government at times abuses its power, just as business firms and trade unions do at times? Would not the need for Presidential thunder or for intricate governmental controls diminish if some rule of reason were

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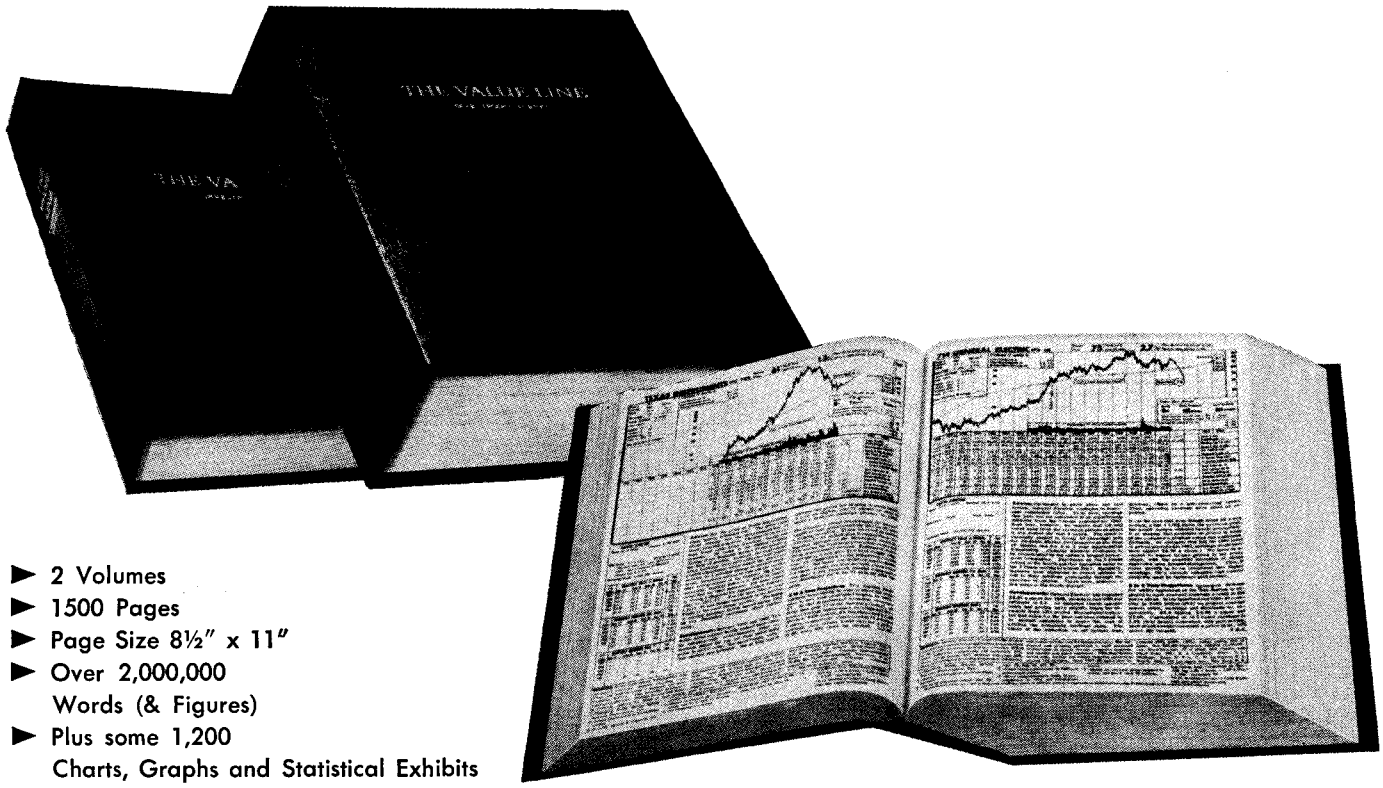

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applied to the size of businesses and trade unions? Might not this be done by a prudent people so as to preserve the efficiency that often, but by no means always, accompanies size? May not the economic welfare of the entire nation be enhanced by widening the free market and yet tempering its harsh discipline by building a floor of security, on whatever scale our collective conscience dictates, for everyone? Yet, how far can a nation go in taxing its people without impairing both the means and the incentive to great economic achievement? Is there not some reason for thinking that our taxes on corporate profits and high individual incomes may already have overstepped this dangerous boundary line? If so, are we prepared to impose a national sales tax to raise a part of the vast sums needed to finance the welfare state as well as the defense establishment? And can the moral or economic power of the "transcendental margin" of earlier times, which rested so heavily—as Berle explains in an unforgettable chapter—on man's relation to God and neighbor, be equated with the margin that is nowadays voted by Congress, year in and year out, from borrowed funds?

These questions are not probed sufficiently by Berle. Some are not even examined. It could not be otherwise in a small volume covering so much ground. I have the impression that Berle's strong faith in the workings of our democracy may also lead him to feel that these questions are less urgent than they appear to me. He thinks of the American economic system as made by man to serve man. He takes pride in our religious heritage and willingness to help others. While he finds fault with some practices of union leaders and businessmen, he is also mindful of their contribution to American life. He sees politics as a means of redressing wrongs, of widening people's horizons beyond personal gain, and of working out acceptable—even if not ideal—solutions. He sees the American economy as more successful, as doing more for the great masses of people, than any other in today's world, or, for that matter, in all of recorded history. Looking to the future, he feels sure that our nation can do "for itself and with itself, anything it really wants to do." By this he means, among other things, that our resources, both human and material, are sufficient to enable us to deal "justly and generously with all foreseeable social demands and situations."

I would grant all this. But I would also urge that our democracy is not immune to serious and lasting political mistakes. Some of the economic issues that trouble our nation today, such as unemployment or the deficit in the balance of payments, are highly intricate. The answers that may appeal to the masses or their busy legislators will not always benefit the nation. Of course, Berle understands and respects the need for knowledge and judgment in handling our economic problems. I have no doubt that this honest and fearless fighter for social betterment would agree that the questions I have raised deserve penetrating and dispassionate study by students of our political economy.

'Something That Might Simply Be'

M. L. ROSENTHAL

THE NEXT ROOM OF THE DREAM, by Howard Nemerov. *University of Chicago Press. Paperback. $2.45.*

PRIVATE DOOMS AND PUBLIC DESTINATIONS, by James Schevill. *Alan Swallow. Paperback. $1.65.*

COLLECTED POEMS, by A. J. M. Smith. *Oxford University Press. $3.50.*

GUNSIGHT, by Theodore Weiss. *New York University Press. $3.75; paperback $1.45.*

I suppose it is inevitable that most good poetry should go unappreciated, particularly in a time like ours when there are so many people writing "competent" verse. At such a time, work with an unusually randy edge, or of extraordinary energy, or with some bizarre or sensational quality is likely to absorb our attention. Quiet intensity, a deep and right feeling for poetic form and expression, and unique intelligence or sensibility working honorably within an unfashionable mode are apt to be discounted.

Howard Nemerov, of course, is by no means a neglected poet, though his clever versatility has led to an undervaluing of his abilities. His most recent book, *The Next Room of the Dream*, illustrates most of his strengths and weaknesses. It is not his best; nothing here can approach his wonderful sequences "The Scales of the Eyes" and "Runes," and the voltage is comparatively low. Still, the book contains a dozen or so poems of fine achievement, and about half of these approach the ideal he describes in "Lion & Honeycomb." It is not, this poem tells us, so much "skill" or "form" or "values" or "the (so help us) need for a modern idiom" that is wanted mainly as something else—

> So much coffee and so many cigarettes
> Gone down the drain, gone up in smoke,
> Just for the sake of getting something right
> Once in a while, something that could stand
> On its own flat feet to keep out windy time
> And the worm, something that might simply be. . . .

The thought is old-fashioned, a compound of the slogans of Longinus, Arnold, and Pound. If we do not use it as a weapon against everything new and exploratory, it can remind us that even passages that do not mesmerize us or blow our heads off might just conceivably manage to stick in the mind forever. Consider the fifth stanza of Mr. Nemerov's "The End of Summer School":

> And baby spiders, on their shining threads,
> The middle air make glisten gold all day;
> Sailing, as if the sun had blessed their roads,
> Hundreds of miles, and sometimes out to sea.

The quietistic side of the genius of English poetry haunts some of this poet's lovelier work. He can give us rigorously reserved statements of human pain that discover an appropriate music beyond mere expression

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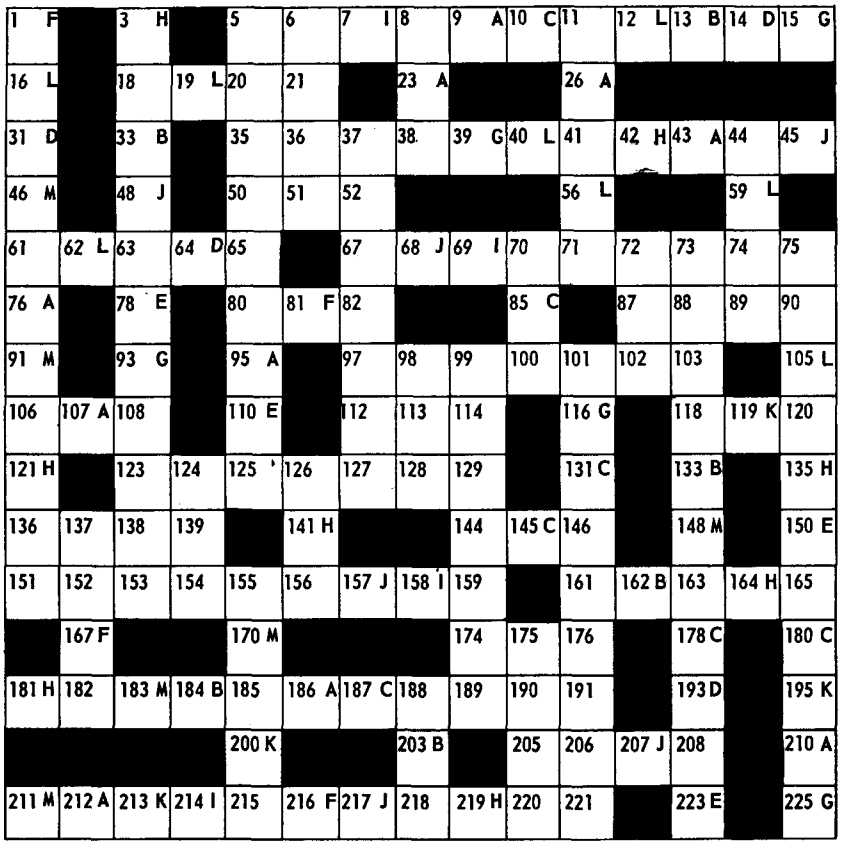
THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 84

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS.

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.



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A — 9 23 107 43 210 26 95 76 186 212 One of the Acrostician's leading performances.

B — 13 33 162 184 203 133 "In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an _____ and sullenness against Nature not to go out." Milton, "Of Education."

C — 10 178 187 180 131 145 85 Unyieldingly.

D — 193 14 31 64 "The lust of the _____ is the bounty of God." Blake, "Marriage of Heaven and Hell."

E — 78 110 223 150 A very small quantity.

F — 1 81 167 216 Michaelmas is one.

G — 15 116 39 225 93 "Why that the naked, poor, and mangled Peace, / Dear _____ of arts, plenties, and joyful births." Shakespeare, "Henry V".

H — 121 3 42 164 219 181 141 135 A favorite dessert (3,5).

I — 7 69 158 214 "Certain _____ fellows of the baser sort." Acts of the Apostles.

J — 45 207 217 157 68 48 Implements for serving Word H.

K — 200 119 195 213 A large, flat-bottomed boat.

L — 59 40 56 16 62 12 105 19 Kind of work created by Friml, Herbert, etc.

M — 46 170 148 183 91 211 Famous English cardinal.

ACROSS

5. There is no elite crab to upset the party.
18. Paddles can soar sometimes.
35. It takes a stamp to screen towering cliffs.
50. A Roman possessive of some arrangement.
61. Beaten paths for Caesar's caste.
67. Blend pies to get what can be disbursed.
80. The beverage heard in the alphabet.
87. You can be sued if you don't pay these charges.
97. A pretty noisy bird who may be out of sorts? (4,3).
106. A heavy cask, they say.
112. Cut off a limb in one fell operation.
118. Just before the start of our calendar in the drab city (1,1,1).
123. A conger eel, ere out of the picture, will harden.
136. Surely this Scottish economist was nothing new.
144. My Gal, Sal, studied algebra briefly.
151. What the landing plane does while passenger swoons end (5,4).
161. Throw out that which is refused when bound in iron.
174. Mother may block a river.
181. English critic and man of letters who sounded gems (6,5).
205. This Scottish town seems tiny indeed.
211. He traced women and supported *Mr. Kennedy's frontier* (3,8).

DOWN

1. The tint also ran in something changed from one language to another.
3. Our alter egos see no sciences here.
5. This kind of burial is not a crime, anyway.
6. The kind of palindrome to be found in ancient Rome.
8. The times of one period are back.
11. This sultan had me in mind, no doubt.
37. Take a cab to the sale to get that which can be crated.
44. To lure along or entice in to landing.
70. American senator or humorist in many European countries.
72. Can't you hear the duck on the mountain?
73. Counsel on how to purchase produce which sounds like a paradoxical command to both go and stay (3,2,6).
75. Opinions used by Shakespeare and Matisse, not I, grammar notwithstanding.
98. Congo worm that causes eye trouble in all or one but not *Loren*.
99. These mountain regions might be the Dun Alps.
101. A decision about a providential punishment.
124. A single number or a singular character.
126. Peripitate in pleasing advances.
137. Look for it in Row D in any dictionary.
155. Feel intuitively when seen with a shilling.
175. Where a Siamese can be found.
188. The grampus has become extinct as a bird.

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of an attitude. At the same time, his mentality is contemporary and urban. Look back at the first passage I have quoted, or consider how cavalierly he throws the word "creditors" into the sad, remote music of the closing stanza of "Somewhere":

Somewhere a story is told, someone is singing
Of careless love in the hands of its creditors. . . .

Or note, in "A Picture" and in "The Dial Tone," the ironic bafflement and nervous excitation caused by the contemplation of the impersonality of a news photo showing mob violence against a Negro, or of the equal impersonality of that continuous hum of the dial so indifferent to the private intimacies of the people communicating with each other by way of it. Again, listen to the Biblical figure Lot speaking in middle-class vernacular about the destruction of Sodom:

I knelt down and spoke to my God as follows:
"Dear Sir," I said, "I do not understand
Why you are doing this to my community. . . ."

If I observe that Mr. Nemerov's wit and prolificacy do not always serve him well, I hope it is not merely a case of a dull fellow calling a bright one facile. I admire his jokes, parodies, and casual notes inordinately, as a matter of fact. But the fine things that "might simply be" do tend a bit to get lost in the flood of other things. Perhaps all this is deliberate, for Mr. Nemerov may have wished to give more emphasis to the poetic plays he includes, *Cain* and *Endor*. *Cain* seems to me the more interesting work. In it he sets his high-spirited talent to playing brilliantly. The problem is to reopen the meaning of the Biblical tale of the first death from our contemporary disadvantage point in history and knowledge. The commonplace, the comic, the accumulation of literary tradition, the tragic sense are beautifully brought to bear on the problem. *Endor* has admirable qualities but loses itself in its obvious profundities and in a proliferation of blank verse—*good* blank verse, but too much of it, with too little dramatic variation.

James Schevill shares at least one characteristic with Mr. Nemerov. He is restlessly on the lookout for good subjects. He finds them in the newspapers, in people he has met or places he has visited or interesting facts stumbled upon in museums or books. Not that this doesn't happen to all poets sometimes, but more often, perhaps, a good lyric poet's subjects stumble upon *him,* and a wrestling match ensues. And not that Mr. Schevill is a stranger to this more familiar mode of composition. He has written some simple lyric poems that bring to mind—curiously, because of their big-city, rather domestic setting—nineteenth-century Romantic pieces like Byron's "So, we'll go no more a-roving." Mr. Schevill can be bouncy, sardonic, sensual. By and large, though, what gives his work its unique cast is that it is a poetry of scholarly sensibility. He combines the scholar's instinct for meaningful detail with the poet's subjective insight. His elegy for Hemingway (which achieved some popularity in England, where it was written) is constructed so perceptively out of motifs and stylistic tones from Hemingway's works that it is at once original criticism and a truly emphatic capturing of that writer's life-style. The sequences "French Forces," "Stories of the Soviet Union," and "Sword, Sex, and God's Word at the Philosopher's Gate" contemplate the lives and thought of such figures as Villon, Rodin, Mayakovsky, Marx, and Wittgenstein, and the meaning in the present moment of the Lubyanka in Moscow, or of an encounter with an old peasant woman at the monastery in Zagorsk, or of the relationship between secular Versailles and sacred Chartres.

The poet's passion for the rich golden mines of subject matter among which the modern mind is free to choose is matched by a passion for packing relevant data into his poems. His soul expands too readily, no doubt, in the presence of a new lode, and he wants to share the treasure with us. But these poems are all discoveries. Consider the title alone of "Rousseau Takes His Five Natural Children to the Foundling Hospital"! This poem forces us to share Rousseau's bitter awareness of the gap between his vision of "the glad mystery of God" and his own life's course:

Only by institutions is man made bad,
Yet that is my fear of the Foundling Hospital.
The faces of my children I have never known
Flare beyond the walls of that grey school
And I see them, forever, at their education.

At its best, the writing of A. J. M. Smith has always had an irreducible purity that perhaps comes closer to absolute right taste in his art than most good poets now writing could claim. I have always, for instance, in one way preferred his elegy for Yeats to the famous one by W. H. Auden. The Auden poem does *more*—it is intelligent, clever, profound on the subject of modern man's condition, occasionally miraculous, occasionally elegantly vulgar. The Smith poem has none of this Cleopatran variety; it is simply right. It takes some of Yeats's most recognizable, and effortlessly recovered, tones and phrases and symbols and then flowers into a perfectly self-contained tribute. The poet has subordinated himself to Yeats, not translated Yeats into an image of Smith:

The stream has suddenly pushed the papery leaves!
It digs a rustling channel of clear water
On the scarred flank of Ben Bulben.
The twisted tree is incandescent with flowers.
The swan leaps singing into the cold air. . . .

All this may suggest a limited perfectionism that profits in the short run from the fear of taking chances but loses out where the main chance is concerned. I am for the kind of recklessness that the earlier Auden, at least, represented. But if Mr. Smith does not "live at the pitch that is near madness" (as Richard Eberhart has expressed a poetic wish to do), he has an unfaltering if sometimes elusive emotional truthfulness. I have mentioned Richard Eberhart, and Mr. Smith resembles him in his preoccupation with death. His concern, though, is more with the pitiable anonymity, the defeat of human meaning, im-

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MACMILLAN
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plicit in death—with the "sigh," one of his finest poems has it, "of the inconsequential dead." He writes naturally in the elegiac mode, and it is for this reason, somehow, together with his unusually responsive ear, that he has been able to give us our most sensitive adaptation of Mallarmé's *"Le vierge, le vivace, et le bel aujourd'hui"*—

> The virginal, vivacious and beautiful today,
> Will it shatter for us with a drunken wing-blow
> This hard, forgotten lake haunted by frost's glow
> Where transparent glaciers of unknown flights stay!

He has caught Mallarmé as he caught Yeats. But an airy deftness, a phase of his rare feeling for the implied resources of the language, leads him to write a certain amount of serious light verse as well. His "May Song," an adaptation from Prévert, really outdoes Prévert:

> The ass, the King and I
> Tomorrow we shall die
> The ass of hunger
> The King of boredom
> And I of love. . . .

Even when a bit precious, as in "Political Intelligence" ("Nobody said Apples for nearly a minute—I thought I should die"), the deftness is engaging. Few other poets transmit their delight in phrasing for its own sake and in the earthier recognitions as does Mr. Smith in "Ballade un Peu Banale" or "A Pastoral" or "Brigadier." He is Canada's best literary gift to the United States, and incidentally a perfect gauge of the way British and North American poetic idiom have begun to converge of late.

THE BRAVEST poetic work published in 1962 was, easily, Theodore Weiss's *Gunsight*. This is a long poem accurately described on the jacket as "a narrative-dramatic psychological fantasy that records the sensations and memories of a wounded soldier as he undergoes surgery." Using a remarkably varied five-stress line throughout its fifty-five pages, *Gunsight* whirls us through many perspectives of awareness and emotional relationship, with the wonderful result that one feels the poem has been all too short! The basic situation and ordering are fairly simple: the merging of conscious and subconscious states before and during the operation, the traumatic battlefield recollections, the reaching back to parents, to loved women, and to childhood recollections, all adding up to the evaluation of a life and the sense of missed or lost glories before the ambiguous ending which yet has its clear promise. By breaking up his lines, interspersing a few passages with shorter lines, and varying tempo and tonal qualities in a great many ways, Mr. Weiss keeps the poem active. Different voices cut in, a little confusingly until one gets the hang of it, and we see in full spin the endless inner dialogue, passionate, poignant, serious, always relevant, that goes on in the psyche. We have not had quite such an effort as this one since Hart Crane's *The Bridge*—I say this particularly because the kind of projection of voice, and the kind of self-exploration by way of remembered moments, suggests it.

But Mr. Weiss is in no sense imitating Crane, either. This is not a sequence of related poems, but one continuous one. And the most characteristic statement of the poem is more dramatically centered on a specific situation:

> needle plunged,
> the room begins to rock.
> A January
> hillock knees, unblinking snow
> claws up. . . .

It would require an essay of some length to detail the achievement of this poem: its rich modulations of voice, its always spontaneous-seeming yet controlled continuities of image and dramatic construction, its vigor. On a large scale, yet with truthfulness to the unpretentious sensitivity of the central figure, we have a forceful patterning that shows the complementary character of the hero's war trauma and his whole brooding set of mind and memory; it is a poem full of humiliation, yet unsentimental and alert beyond simple despair. I think that Mr. Weiss may now have entered his poetic maturity almost without realizing it, in the quiet clarification and solving of the problems of this poem.

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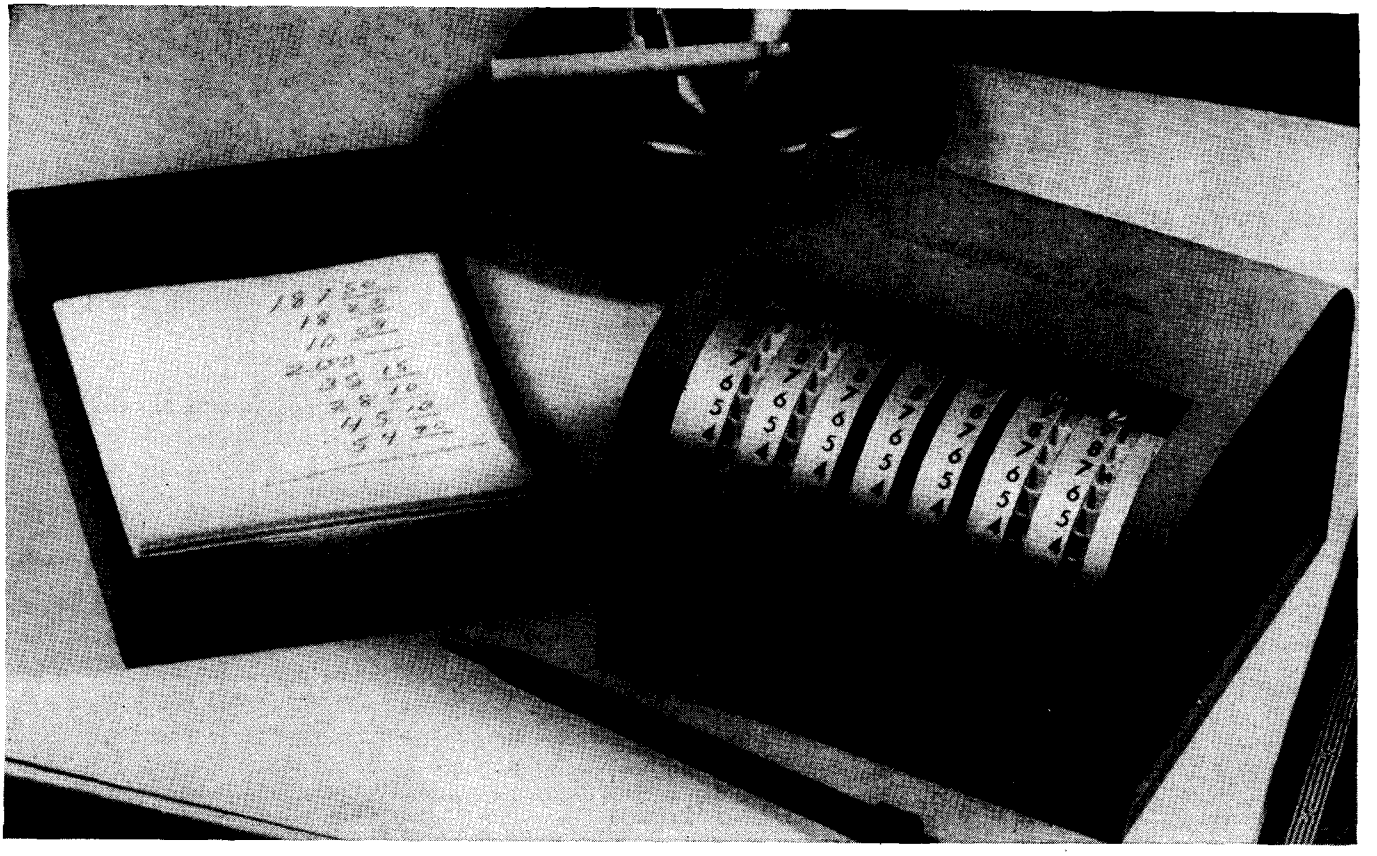

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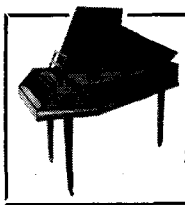

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Art USA Now. Edited by Lee Nordness. Text by Allen S. Weller. A Studio Book. *Viking. Two volumes, $30.*

This lavish new publication—one somehow hesitates to call it a book—is so completely a product of the moment that simply to enumerate its various sponsors and contributors is to identify, in part at least, the odd constellation of forces that currently impinge upon the contemporary art scene in this country. Its editor, Mr. Nordness, is a well-known New York dealer and promoter who rose to prominence a few years ago by staging two mammoth exhibitions, called "Art USA," in Madison Square Garden and the New York Coliseum. Dr. Weller, who contributes the principal text, is the dean of the College of Fine and Applied Arts at the University of Illinois and a guiding spirit behind the ambitious biennial exhibitions of new American art that have for some years been a feature of the university's Festival of Contemporary Arts. The idea of *Art USA Now*, which attempts to encompass the great diversity of styles that currently prevail in American painting, is said to have come from a Swiss publisher and printer, and the publication itself is dedicated to Mr. H. F. Johnson, chairman of S. C. Johnson & Son, Inc. (Johnson's Wax), and his wife. Not exactly fortuitously, the one hundred and two paintings that are reproduced in color comprise a collection that Mr. Nordness was invited to form for the Johnson company. This collection is now on a tour of European institutions, and will eventually be shown in various American cities on its return from abroad, as part of a public-relations campaign to promote what Mr. Nordness calls "American creative wealth" (by which he apparently means our painting) as well as the culturally enlightened policies of the Johnson company. *Art USA Now* is thus, among other things, the catalogue of a large traveling exhibition.

But more things are catalogued in this vast, overblown production than mere paintings, and it is therefore proper, I think, to regard *Art USA Now* more as the reflection of a general tendency than as a serious publication in its own right. The works of living American artists have lately been found to have a variety of commercial, academic, and diplomatic uses, all of a more or less public-relations character having little to do with the artists' real intentions or accomplishments. While this attempt to turn contemporary art into a form of political and cultural show business is in some respects world-wide, it has a particularly damaging effect upon American art for the same reason that it has found especially fertile ground in the American cultural scene. We lack official institutions for the proper presentation of American art, and we lack as well a tradition of serious scholarship in the study of American art history. First-class minds have rarely been attracted to American art as a field of specialization. Anyone who has read through a fair quantity of the literature on American art will know to what extent it is the work of cranks, pedants, and amateurs. The fact is that in writing about American painting and sculpture, anything goes; and the field thus remains wide open to the bamboozling tactics of any interested party who has the means to set himself up as an expert.

A publication like *Art USA Now* adds nothing to our knowledge of its subject, but it does tell us something about the form that this subject assumes in the minds of cultural entrepreneurs who are trying to shape it to their own purposes. Beyond the romantic photographs of artists in their studios, the handsomely printed color plates of (for the most part) indifferent paintings, and the incredibly vapid commentaries on individual artists, there is put forward a view of contemporary art that is intrinsically inartistic. Though drawn up in the name of cultural democracy, catholic taste, and disinterested aesthetic breadth, the picture of current painting that emerges is one of helter-skelter mediocrity mingling freely with a few certified points of accomplishment in the older generation. Fine paintings by Edward Hopper, Milton Avery, Stuart Davis, and a few others are thrown into a dispiriting kalei-

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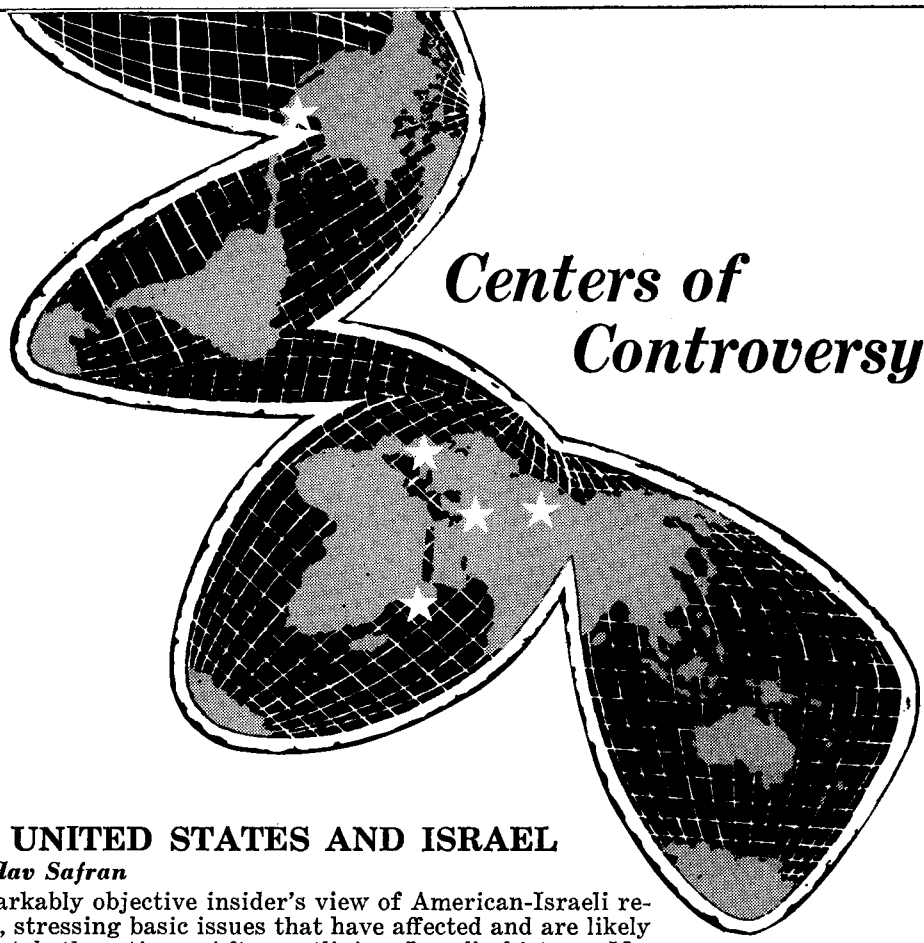

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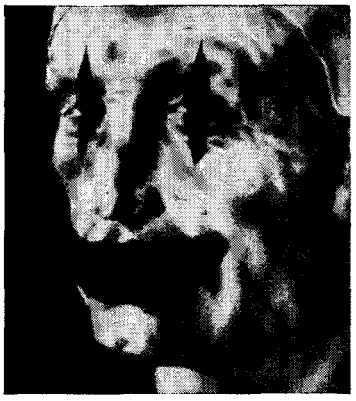

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doscope in which are collected all the clichés and barren devices that contemporary art can offer the unwary eye. For it is Mr. Nordness's intention to provide us with a representation of all "schools" of contemporary expression, and he does indeed turn up more styles than there are artists around to execute them with distinction.

In his introduction Mr. Nordness inveighs against the museums for favoring abstract painting at the expense of other styles, and he is certainly correct in noting the tendency of institutions like the Museum of Modern Art's International Program, as well as other agencies responsible for exhibiting American art abroad in recent years, to dwell primarily on abstract expressionism. But Mr. Nordness never asks precisely why this practice should have developed quite as it has, or whether there might be sound artistic reasons for it. It is surely a fact—saddening perhaps, but a fact—that it is our abstract art that Europeans want to see; it is only in our abstract art that they find something usable, something they feel their own artists have not already done better. One might want to conclude that European reaction is perhaps not the most reliable guide to our own artistic achievements—the elevation of Edgar Allan Poe to the status of a universal genius in nineteenth-century France might have served as a warning—but there is no gainsaying what that reaction has been. Mr. Nordness's motley collection is not going to change any of this. Indeed, the response the Johnson Collection elicited from the more sophisticated critics on its London showing was one of polite boredom.

THE disparate contents of the Johnson Collection have, moreover, placed an impossible burden on Dr. Weller's text, which, apart from a few of the artists' statements, is the only part of *Art USA Now* that can be taken seriously. Dr. Weller undertakes to give us a convincing picture of the general cultural setting and philosophic atmosphere in which the more radical forms of painting have developed in recent years. The approach is very broad. The splitting of the atom, the break-up of nations, the speed of travel—the whole momentum of the modern world is invoked as a means of defining the "realities" that underlie the largely anti-realistic styles represented here.

I find it odd—odd, because Dr. Weller is a trained art historian—that he avails himself so little of a more traditional approach to artistic questions; that he is so little concerned to inquire as to the extent developments in style can be attributed to artistic precedents, to the refinement and/or rejection of received aesthetic means. In our time especially the role that the self-conscious questioning of art itself plays in the creation of art is paramount in painters' minds, and to this aspect Dr. Weller gives only the barest attention.

But the main difficulty with Dr. Weller's commentary is that the tidy philosophic parcel into which he wraps the whole inquiry must be straightway undone in order to accommodate the more workaday styles that Mr. Nordness has gathered together. No matter how far Dr. Weller stretches his generalizations, he cannot make them cover all the editor's ill-chosen materials.

Still, the writing is interesting and can at least be read, which is more than one can say for the commentaries, amounting to more than two hundred pages, that are devoted to individual artists. Together with the graphic design of *Art USA Now*, which boasts of more than a hundred fold-out pages and a riot of display typography, these commentaries are intended to "sell" each artist to the reader, and they draw heavily upon selective quotation of reviews from the New York papers. All in all, the combination of physical clumsiness, intellectual vapidity, and visual vulgarity suggests that the ideal reader of *Art USA Now* would have four hands and one eye, be numb to the niceties of aesthetic analysis, and bowled over by a rave review in the New York *Times*. Yet, given the present situation, these two stout volumes will undoubtedly find their way into libraries all over the country, be recommended by teachers, consulted by students, and before long make their appearance in the bibliographies of more learned works. They will be widely cited as evidence of our growing cultural maturity.

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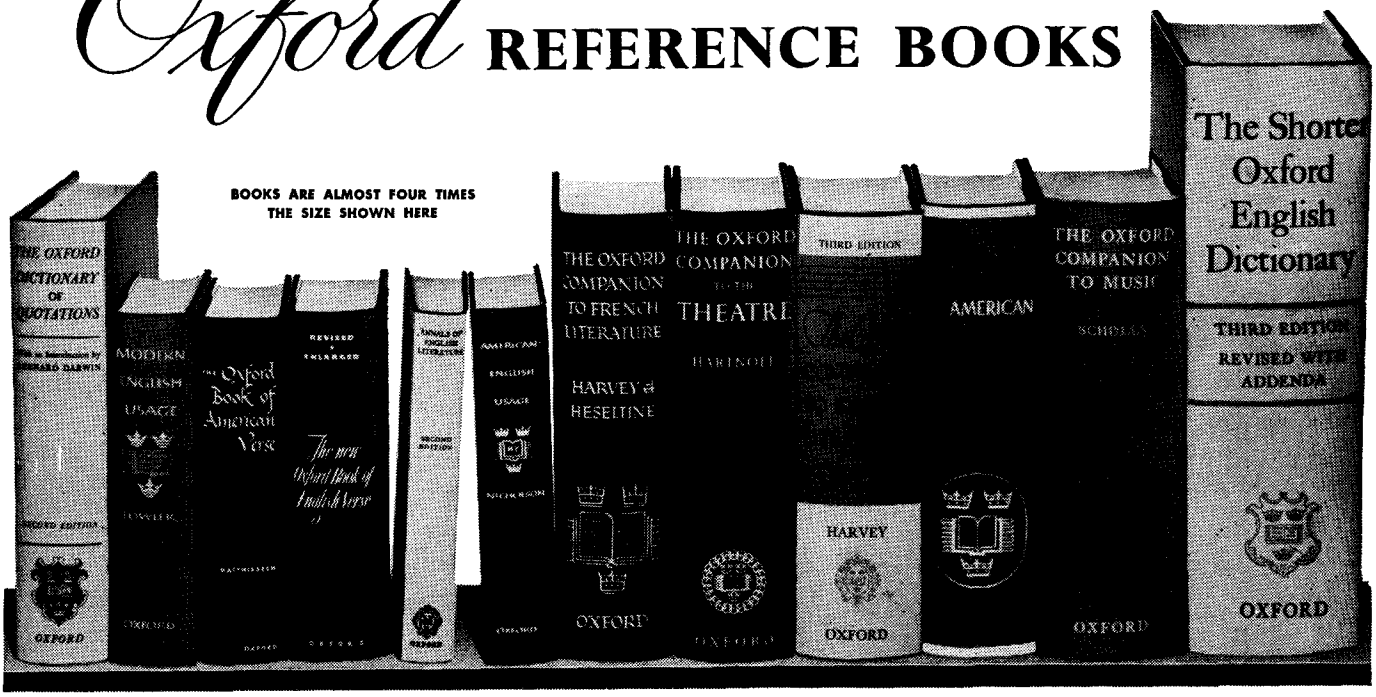

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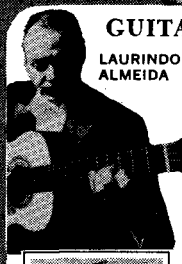

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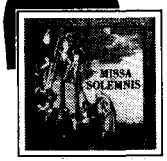

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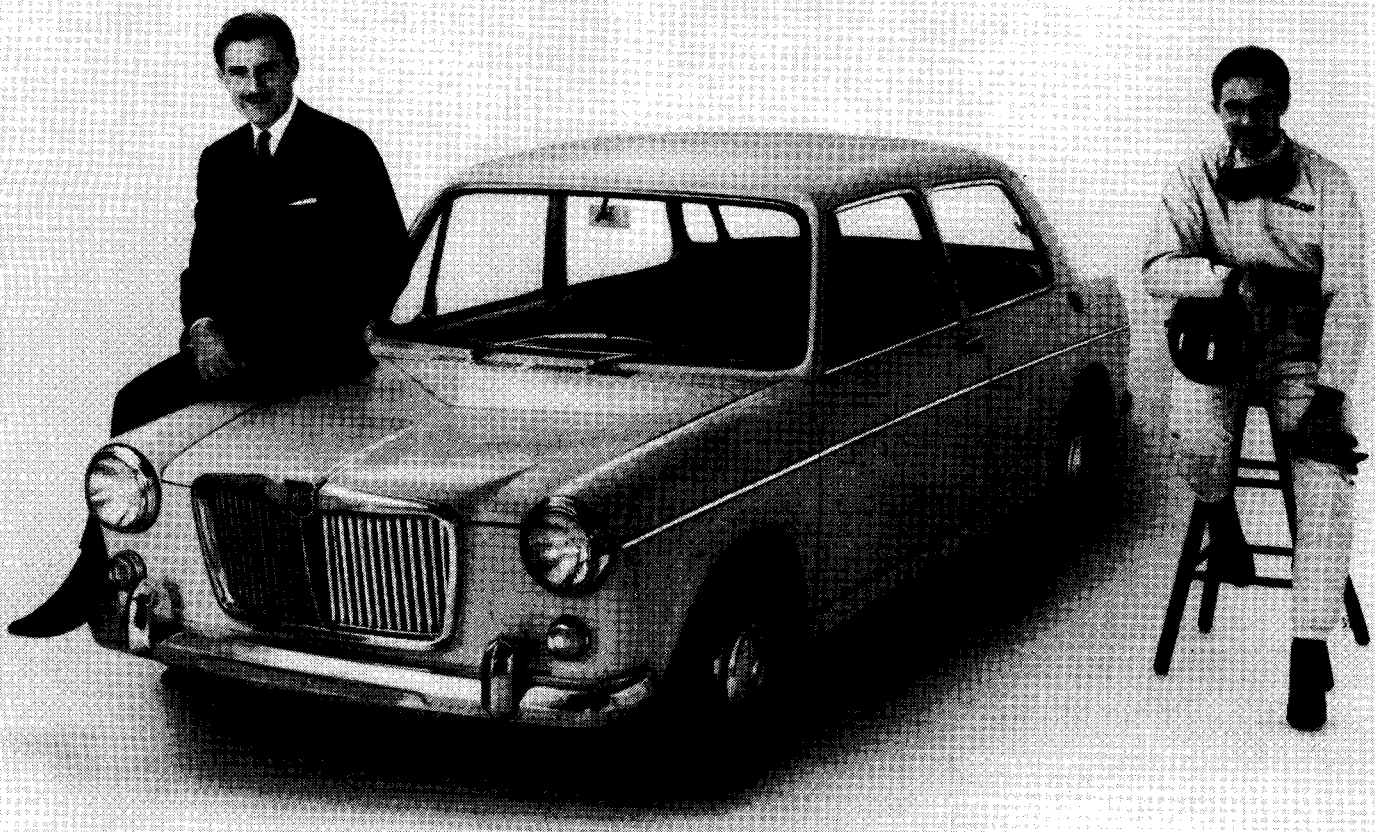

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